

POL
1/1/69

27-14

BIAFRA-NIGERIA

STATE DEPARTMENT SYSTEMATIC REVIEW

☐ Retain class'n ☐ Change/classify to

☒ Declassify

EO 12958, 25X

FPC/HDR by

Date:

3/18/96

Withdrawal No.

0861

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VNI 2954503
By MNARA Date 10/5/05

37



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-
NIGERIA
Department of State
TELEGRAM

SECRET 907

PAGE 01 ACCRA 01719 301322Z

50

ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CIAE 00, SSO 00, /071 W

121616

P 301155Z MAY 69

FM AMEMBASSY ACCRA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6349

SECRET ACCRA 1719

LIMDIS/NOFORN

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR

REF: ACCRA 1572, 1638

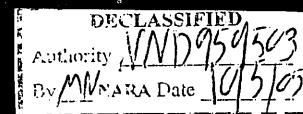
1. FOLLOWING TEXT (UNNECESSARY WORDS OMITTED) OF MEMORANDUM THAT MBANEFO HAS SENT TO HARLEY:
QTE. THE BASIC ISSUE IN THE WAR IS SECURITY OF LIFE AND PROPERTY FOR BIAFRANS. THE FEDERATION OF NIGERIA HAS NOT AFFORDED ADEQUATE SECURITY OF LIFE AND PROPERTY FOR BIAFRANS. THE POGROMS OF 1966, THE WAR AND ATROCITIES BY NIGERIAN TROOPS HAVE CONVINCED BIAFRANS THAT THEY CANNOT EXPECT SECURITY WITHIN NIGERIA. THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT IS SPENDING ENORMOUS AMOUNTS TO MAINTAIN INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS IN A BIG PROPAGANDA EXERCISE TO DISGUISE THIS FACT. TO ASK BIAFRANS TO ACCEPT ASSURANCES FROM GENERAL GOWAN OR HIS GOVERNMENT IS LIKE TELLING ISRAELIS THAT COL. NASSER IS AN HONORABLE MAN AND COULD BE TRUSTED TO PROTECT THEM IF THEY SURRENDERED. NO AMOUNT OF VERBAL ASSURANCE CAN SATISFY BIAFRANS.

WHEN BIAFRANS TALK OF SECURITY IT IS NECESSARY TO EXPLAIN NATURE OF SECURITY THEY WANT. IN PAST THEY HAVE BEEN ATTACKED AND SLAUGHTERED NOT WITHIN THEIR HOMELAND BUT OUTSIDE IT. IN EVERY CASE LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT HAVE JOINED IN THE EXERCISE. IN THAT SITUATION, IT IS USELESS TELLING THEM TO GO TO THE POLICE AND REPORT. THE POLICE AND ARMY WERE INVOLVED IN THE ATTACKS. IN EACH CASE OFFENDERS HAVE NEITHER BEEN ARRESTED NOR PUNISHED AND NO PUBLIC INQUIRIES HAVE BEEN HELD. WHOEVER CONTROLS POLICE IN THE LOCALITY, STATE OR REGION CAN STULTIFY ANY CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENT. THERE IS NO CON-

SECRET

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MEM 1719
5-30-69



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET

PAGE 02 ACCRA 01719 301322Z

FIDENCE OR MUTUAL TRUST; THE FACT OF CREATING STATES WAS A CONCESSION TO SECTIONAL, LOCAL OR REGIONAL INTERESTS; SO THAT NO CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENT WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF A FEDERATION CAN GIVE BIAFRANS THE SECURITY THEY REQUIRE OUTSIDE THEIR OWN BORDERS. FOR THAT REASON, WE SEE OUR SECURITY IN A SEPARATE POLITICAL EXISTENCE. WE SHOULD HAVE THE POWER AND AUTHORITY THEREFORE TO GIVE PROTECTION TO BIAFRANS INTERNALLY WITHIN BIAFRA AND EXTERNALLY WHEN THEY ARE OUTSIDE BIAFRA. IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO GO TO POLICE TO REPORT IF THEY ARE ATTACKED AS HAS HAPPENED IN THE PAST. GOVERNMENT OF BIAFRA SHOULD BE ABLE TO MAKE THE HIGHEST AND STRONGEST REPRESENTATION ABOUT IT. SECONDLY, WE MUST HAVE ACCESS TO AN INTERNATIONAL FORUM TO PRESENT OUR CASE AND NOT BE TOLD THAT THIS IS AN "INTERNAL MATTER." ALTHOUGH ABOUT ONE MILLION LIVES HAVE BEEN LOST EITHER FROM STARVATION, WAR OR INDISCRIMINATE BOMBING AND THE WORST FORM OF ATROCITIES COMMITTED AGAINST OUR PEOPLE, THE UNITED NATIONS, O.A.U., AND MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL WILL NOT CONSIDER IT ON THE LEGAL FICTION THAT IT IS AN "INTERNAL MATTER." MORE LIVES HAVE BEEN LOST AND MORE SUFFERING CAUSED THAN WOULD HAVE BEEN NECESSARY BECAUSE OF THIS FICTION. SO WE SAY THAT THAT SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO HAPPEN AGAIN OR TO CONTINUE, AND THAT IN ANY SETTLEMENT WE SHOULD HAVE ACCESS TO AN INTERNATIONAL FORUM. THE LEAST SECURITY FOR ANY PEOPLE IS INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC OPINION AND WE CONSIDER THAT VITAL FOR OUR SECURITY.

WE SEE THE BEST FORM OF SECURITY IN A SEPARATE STATE, BUT WE RECOGNIZE THAT HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY AND ECONOMIC INTERESTS HAVE CREATED TIES BETWEEN NIGERIA AND BIAFRA AND OUR OBJECTIVE WILL BE TO STRENGTHEN THOSE TIES WHERE POSSIBLE.

TO CREATE AN ATMOSPHERE OF MEANINGFUL DISCUSSION ON THESE ISSUES, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THERE SHOULD BE A CEASEFIRE OR AT LEAST A TRUCE.

THE PEOPLE OF BIAFRA ARE SO DETERMINED IN THEIR DESIRE TO ACHIEVE SECURITY FOR THEMSELVES AND FUTURE GENERATIONS THAT THEY CONSIDER NO SACRIFICE TOO MUCH IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE FREEDOM. THE WAR CAN ACHIEVE NOTHING EXCEPT CONTINUED LOSS OF LIVES, AND THE SOONER IT IS STOPPED AND DISCUSSIONS BEGIN THE BETTER. SO WE PROPOSE THAT THERE SHOULD BE A LIMITED TRUCE DURING WHICH WE COULD NEGOTIATE A CEASEFIRE FOLLOWED BY DISCUSSIONS

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/03



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 03 ACCRA 01719 301322Z

OF THE CRITICAL ISSUES.

TRUCE OR CEASEFIRE SHOULD BE NEGOTIATED ON TERMS THAT
THERE SHOULD BE NO MILITARY ADVANTAGE TO EITHER SIDE AND DIS-
CUSSIONS SHOULD BE WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS.

WE WILL COME TO THE TALKS WITH AN OPEN MIND AND HOPE THAT
IT WILL CONSULT IN AN HONORABLE PEACE FOR BOTH SIDES. UNQTE.

2. COMMENTS IN SEPTEL IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING. FOLEY

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TOP SECRET

L I M D I S
I N C O M I N GScreener JAWPOST ACCRASERIAL 1719

(Time Received)

1969 MAY 30 PM 3 16

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MONTHLY COUNT 718

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 Digest 3
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Principals and
"S" Area

ES 3
 S 3
 U 3
 J 3
 D 3
 C 3
 USC 3

S/CFR 1
 S/FW 1
 S/GOV 1
 S/IL 1
 S/P 1
 S/PM 1
 S/R 1
 U/CF 1
 U/PW 1
 J/PM 1
 J/WP 1

Geographic

AF 5
 ARA 9
 EA 11
 EUR 10
 NEA 8

Functional

CU 2
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 INR 6
 IO 4
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 OPR 1
 OC 1
 SY 1
 WLG 1
 P 1
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 SCI 1

Other

WH 10
 VP 1
 DOD 1
 CIA 1
 USIA 4
 PC 1

Other

ACDA 5
 AID/EXSEC 3
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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 972

PAGE 01 ACCRA 01720 301557Z

54
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CIAE 00, SSO 00, /071 W

122082

P 301220Z MAY 69
FM AMEMBASSY ACCRA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6350

S E C R E T ACCRA 1720

LIMDIS/NOFORN

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR

REF: ACCRA 1719-*27-14*

1. IN HANDLING MBANEFO MEMORANDUM OVER, HARLEY INDICATED IT HAD BEEN RECEIVED THREE DAYS AGO BUT THAT HE HAD BEEN AT HOME SICK AND THEREFORE UNABLE TO GET IN TOUCH BEFORE NOW.

NOTE: HAS RECEIVED.

WILL BE SERVICED UPON REQUEST.

2. HARLEY CHARACTERIZED MEMORANDUM AYHAHPROPAGANDA DOCUMENT. HOWEVER, HE HAS GIVEN IT TO COMMISSIONER ANIN FOR STUDY BY MINEXTAFF OFFICIALS TO SEE IF ANY PORTION OF IT MIGHT BE USEFUL AS WEDGE TO BRING FPC AND BIAFRAN REPRESENTATIVES TO NEGOTIATING TABLE. HARLEY SAID HE HAS NOT YET SHOWN DOCUMENT TO OTHER MEMBERS OF NLC.

3. ALTHOUGH STATEMENT NOT VERY HELPFUL, HARLEY DOES NOT SEEM DISCOURAGED AND INDICATED COULD NOT EXPECT A DOCUMENT WHICH CAME OUT OF BIAFRA AT THIS TIME TO BE DIFFERENT SINCE INEVITABLY IT WOULD HAVE TO REFLECT INFLUENCE OF OJUKWU AND HCU ADVISERS. INSTEAD OF TRYING TO OBTAIN STATEMENT OF TERMS IN WRITING, HARLEY NOW PLANS SEND SECRET EMISSARY TO OJUKWU TO TRY PERSUADE LATTER COME TO ACCRA FOR TALKS WITH HARLEY AND AFRIFUGM HOPEFULLY THESE TALKS WOULD REVEAL FORMULA WHICH COULD LEAD TO DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN OJUKWU AND GOWON.

4. ON BASIS CONVERSATION PARLIAMENTARY UNDERSECRETARY MAURICE FOLEY INTIMATED AT SMALL RECEPTION BRITISH HICOM

*Accra 1720
5-30-69*

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 ACCRA 01720 301557Z

HAD LAST EVENING, I BELIEVE THAT BRITISH HAVE NOT YET BEEN TOLD OF PROPOSED GOG PEACE INSTUCTIVE OR IF THEY HAVE IT HAS BEEN ONLY IN BROAD TERMS. FOLEY STATED WHEN NIGERIA MENTIONED IN A IS CALL ON WEGKA YESTERDAY MORNING THAT CHAIRMAN HAD SUGGESTED FOLEY RAISE SUBJECT AT MEETING HE WAS SCHEDULED TO HAVE WITH HARLEY LATER IN THE DAY.

5. ACCORDING FOLEY, HARLEY TALKED OF NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR BUT ONLY PROVIDED GENERAL REVIEW OF PROBLEM AS GOG SAW IT. HARLEY HOWEVER ASKED FOLEY TO SEE HIM AGAIN WHEN LATTER TRANSITS ACCRA OVERNIGHT JUNE 3 FROM FREETOWN TO CATCH FLIGHT NEXT MORNING TO KINSHASA. HARLEY TOLD FOLEY THAT AT THAT TIME HE MIGHT BE ABLE PROVIDE "SOME INTERESTING INFORMATION" ON WHAT GOG DOING TO TRY END NIGERIAN WAR.

6. MY CONVERSATION WITH FOLEY WAS INTERRUPTED BY ARRIVAL NLC MEMBER DEKU JUST AS FOLEY STARTED TO QUESTION WHAT WE MIGHT KNOW ABOUT GOG#PLANS FOR DEALING WITH NIGERIAN PROBLEM. HE WAS WITH DEKU FOR REMAINDER OF RECEPTION AND SUBJECT WAS NOT BROACHED AGAIN. FOLEY
BT

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L I M D I S
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1720

(Time Received)

139 NOV 50 PM 1 35

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Digest
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Principals and
"S" Area

ES
S **3**
U **3**
J
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USC **1**

S/CPR
S/FW
S/GOV
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S/P **1**
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S/R **1**
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J/PM **1**
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Geographic

AF **5**
ARA **9**
EA **11**
EUR **10**
NEA **8**

Functional

CU
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INR **6**
IO **4**
L **2**
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Other

WH **10**
VP
DOD **1**
CIA **P**
USIA **4**
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Other

ACDA **5**
AID/EXSEC **3**
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AA/EA **3**
AA/NESA **2**

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POL 7 NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

CONFIDENTIAL 960

PAGE 01 ACCRA 01721 301513Z

45

ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, UCF 05, UPW 01, SR 01, ORM 03, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 00,

H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, PI 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12,

ACDA 16, IO 13, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, 146 W

121971

R 301235Z MAY 69
FM AMEMBASSY ACCRA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6351
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

YRHCRA/AMEMBASSY NIAMEY 135
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
CINCSRIKE/CINCEAFSA

CONFIDENTIAL ACCRA 1721

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN DELEGATION

REF: ACCRA 1697 - Pol 7 N-ger

1. DIRECTOR OF AFRICAN DIVISION OF TNESTAFF (L.O. ANTWI) AND NIGERIAN FIRST SECRETARY (OBEBE) STATE WEY'S ONE-DAY VISIT ESSENTIALLY COURTESY CALL INTENDED PRIMARILY TO DEVELOP CLOSE WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH NEW NLC CHAIRMAN AFRIFA. WEY BROUGHT LETTERS FROM GOWON INVITING AFRIFA TO MAKE STATE VISIT, THANKING HIM FOR RECENT WEDDING GIFTS, AND CONGRATULATING HIM ON ACCESSION TO NLC CHAIRMANSHIP. N

2. ANTWI STATES NIGERIANS SHOWED SIGNS OF "EMBARRASSMENT" OVER RECENT BIAFRAN BOMBING RAIDS AND GENERAL LACK OF MILITARY PROGRESS AND SPENT MUCH TIME BRIEFING AFRIFA ON MILITARY SITUATION. ACCORDING OBEBE, WEY ATTRIBUTED SLOW PACE OF

CONFIDENTIAL 22

1721
5-30-69

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0870

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

37 -

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIRECTOR OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH

Research Memorandum

RAF-7, May 29, 1969

To : The Acting Secretary
Through: S/S
From : INR - Thomas L. Hughes *Thomas L. Hughes*
Subject: NIGERIA: Current Attempts to Mediate a Settlement in
The Civil War

During recent weeks the Organization of African Unity (OAU), as well as several African and European governments have tried to bring about a settlement of the nearly two-year-old Nigerian civil war. All of these mediation attempts have so far foundered because neither Federal Nigeria nor Biafra is yet prepared to compromise its war aims. Though Biafra might accept something less than full sovereignty, it demands a ceasefire or truce as a precondition to substantive negotiations and refuses to lay down its arms until it gets suitable guarantees for the security of Biafran Ibos. Federal Nigeria says it is willing to negotiate at any time, but it refuses to grant a ceasefire until Biafra renounces secession and accepts the principle of Nigerian unity. We discuss below initiatives made during the past two months in an effort to bring about substantive peace negotiations between Nigeria and Biafra.

Direct Contacts Result in No Progress. Biafran and Nigerian officials are known to have had some informal contact in New York and in Geneva during late April and early May. Kingsley O. Mbadiwe, an Ibo politician who holds no official position in the Biafran regime, arranged these contacts. Though we know little of what took place, it seems certain there was no progress toward full-dress negotiations. According to one version, the Biafrans demanded that Nigeria agree to a ceasefire while talks were in progress. Since Federal Nigerian representatives would not accept this and other Biafran conditions, the contacts ended at this point.

The Organization of African Unity. The OAU has been trying to find a peaceful solution to the Nigerian crisis since September 1967, when the OAU heads of state named a six-nation Consultative Commission (Ethiopia, Liberia, Ghana, Niger, Congo-Kinshasa, and Cameroon), to attempt to mediate a settlement which would preserve Nigerian unity. The most recent meeting of the Consultative Commission--held at Monrovia, Liberia, April 18-20--broke down when the Biafrans refused to agree to negotiations held within the context

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This report was produced by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Aside from normal substantive exchange with other agencies at the working level, it has not been circulated elsewhere.

Called

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

XR POL 3 OAU

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- 2 -

of a united Nigeria. Biafran representatives contended that agreement to negotiate on these terms would in effect mean Biafran surrender. The Commission's statement blaming Biafra for the failure of substantive negotiations to materialize strengthened Biafra's conviction that the Commission is pro-Nigerian and probably ended its chances for playing a mediating role.

We know of no plans for new OAU initiatives. In recent conversations with American and British officials, OAU Secretary General Diallo Telli indicated only that the OAU was watching the Nigerian situation closely in hope that some new opening might appear.

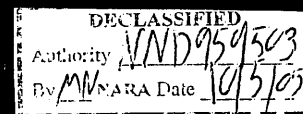
Great Britain: The Cheshire Initiative. Shortly after the abortive Monrovia meeting, Group Captain G. Leonard Cheshire--noted British philanthropist and much-decorated World War II bomber pilot--met in Libreville, Gabon, with Biafran Chief Justice Sir Louis Mbanefo. At that time, Mbanefo agreed that, if Biafra were satisfied with Lagos' offers of internal and external security arrangements for Biafran Iboes, it would agree to talks on the basis of some form of Nigerian unity. Mbanefo subsequently wrote Cheshire that this formulation was "not unfavorably" received in Biafra. Mbanefo's letter was delivered in London by Biafran Minister of Internal Affairs Christopher C. Mojekwu, advisor to Biafran leader Ojukwu.

Mojekwu's Demarche. During the course of his stay in London (late April or early May), Mojekwu informed the Foreign Office that he would be willing to meet with Britain's roving Ambassador in Africa, Malcolm MacDonald. Mojekwu suggested that MacDonald should act as chairman of a secret meeting between Biafran and Federal representatives. Ignatius Kogbara, Biafra's Permanent Representative in London, also approached the Foreign Office in mid-May with a similar suggestion. The British have informed Lagos of these contacts with Biafran officials, and Nigeria does not object to London following through. Although they suspect Biafra may be trying to by-pass the OAU, the British are prepared to have Malcolm MacDonald open exploratory contacts with rebel representatives. These contacts have failed to materialize, however, and it may be that the Biafrans have lost interest in the Mojekwu-Kogbara formula.

Ghanaian Feelers. The leading members of Ghana's ruling military junta--Brigadier A.A. Afrifa and Police Inspector General John Harlley--hope that a secret peace initiative which does not directly involve either the OAU or the non-African major powers will have some chance of success. Harlley indicated to our Ambassador on May 19 that he had asked Biafran Chief Justice Mbanefo--recently in Accra on private business--for a precise statement of Biafra's conditions for peace talks. Harlley added that, if Biafra's reply gave any hope for a new peace initiative, he would go to Lagos to discuss the matter with General Gowon.

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- 3 -

Harlley reiterated his plan on May 23 to our Ambassador in Afrifa's presence. Afrifa indicated that Ghana wished US assistance in mediating a settlement to the civil war, but was extremely anxious not to appear as if it were responding to big power pressure. Harlley repeated Ghana's desire to make peace initiatives that paralleled the OAU effort, but were not tied to it. In earlier conversations, both Afrifa and Harlley indicated they think the OAU Consultative Commission is openly biased toward the Federal Nigerian position and, therefore, cannot perform a mediator's role.

Liberia: Tubman's Semi-Initiative. In an April 22 conversation with our Ambassador, President Tubman expressed his keen disappointment at the failure of the OAU Consultative Commission meeting and said he was considering proposing an emergency meeting of the OAU heads of state to consider further Nigerian peace initiatives. Later, on May 5, President Tubman told the Ambassador that he had invited Nigerian leader General Yakubu Gowon to visit Monrovia for conversations on possible peace efforts. At that time, Tubman indicated that--depending on Gowon's reaction--he might seek Ivory Coast President Houphouet-Boigny's assistance in getting some sort of Nigerian-Biafran peace talks started.

Tubman's initiative seems to have stalled at this point. Gowon declined to visit Monrovia in May, and the Liberian President is now in Europe for his yearly medical check-up, which normally lasts for a month or more.

Houphouet May be Interested. President Houphouet-Boigny of Ivory Coast told Ambassador Shriver on April 23 that he intends to continue his search for a peaceful settlement to the Nigerian crisis. (Ivory Coast was one of the first states to recognize Biafran sovereignty and has given Biafra material support as well.) Houphouet also expressed the hope that, by working privately with Liberian President Tubman, he might be able to arrive at a peace formula that other OAU chiefs of state might accept. So far, however, there is no evidence that he has approached Tubman with any propositions for a settlement. Our Embassy in Paris reports that Houphouet's position on talks and a permanent peace is hardening and that he is now willing to press Ojukwu to negotiate only if Lagos agrees to an unconditional ceasefire to be followed by talks without preconditions.

France Marking Time. France seems prepared to back any initiative that might be made by Houphouet-Boigny, but it is unlikely to take a leading role in seeking solutions to the Nigerian civil war at least until after a new government is installed following the June presidential elections. The French have told us they favor immediate peace talks even without a prior ceasefire, and they are pressing the United States to take the lead in arranging such negotiations. Meanwhile, there are no signs that French support for Biafra's war effort is slackening.

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

31

Pol 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria
SECRET 007

PAGE 01 LONDON 04158 281556Z

47

ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CIAE 00, /071 W

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R 281535Z MAY 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 697
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

S E C R E T LONDON 4158

LIMDIS-NOFORN

SUBJ: BIAFRAN APPROACH TO BRITISH

REF: LONDON 4079

1. FONOFF'S MOBERLY (WEST AFRICAN DEPT) INFORMS US THAT ARIKPO TOLD BRITISH HICOM HE WAS PROFOUNDLY SKEPTICAL THAT ANYTHING USEFUL WOULD RESULT FROM MEETING BETWEEN MALCOLM MACDONALD AND BIAFRANS BUT FMG WOULD NOT OBJECT IF BRITS WISHED TO FOLLOW THROUGH.

2. MOBERLY EXPECTS GREEN LIGHT WILL BE FLASHED SHORTLY TO BIAFRAN REP KOGBARA IN LONDON AT WHICH TIME, IF BIAFRANS HAVE NOT CHANGED MINDS, DETAILS OF MEETING CAN BE ARRANGED. ANNENBERG

*London - 4158
5-28-69*

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SECRET *22*

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EUR *10*
NEA *8*

ACDA *5*
AID/EXSEC *3*
AA/AFR *2*
AA/VN *2*
AA/EA *3*
AA/NESA *2*

Functional

Principals and
"S" Area

CU
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POL 27-14 BIAFRA NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 294

PAGE 01 MONROV 02415 271857Z

45

ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CIAE 00, /071 W

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R 271706Z MAY 69
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6837
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T MONROVIA 2415

LIMDIS

REF: MONROVIA 2291

SUBJECT: NIGERIA: PEACE INITIATIVES

1. SECRETARY GRIMES CALLED ME IN TODAY TO SAY THAT HAMAT AHMATU, PRINCIPAL SECRETARY TO GENERAL GOWON, HAD ARRIVED IN MONROVIA THE NIGHT BEFORE THE PRESIDENT'S DEPARTURE AND HAD TALKED WITH THE LATTER THE NEXT MORNING. THE PRESIDENT CABLED GRIMES FROM THE SHIP TO BRIEF ME ON THIS MEETING AND TO SHOW ME COPIES OF TWO LETTERS BROUGHT BY AHMATU.

2. AHMATU TOLD TUBMAN THAT GOWON HAD SINCERELY WANTED TO VISIT HIM AND WAS MOST APPRECIATIVE OF FACT THAT TUBMAN HAD INDICATED HE WOULD RECEIVE HIM AT TIME WHEN HE WAS BUSY PREPARING TO LEAVE. HOWEVER GOWON HAD FOUND IT NECESSARY TO MAKE CHANGES IN HIS FIELD COMMAND. THIS REQUIRED HIS REMAINING IN NIGERIA TO KEEP A CLOSE EYE ON THE SITUATION.

3. AHMATU SAID THERE HAD BEEN CERTAIN INCREASED ACTIVITIES BOTH MILITARY AND POLITICAL BY THE BIAFRANS AND THAT GOWON AND FMG WERE NOT SURE OF WHAT THEIR REAL INTENTIONS WERE. AHMATU HAD RECENTLY WHILE IN THE STATES HAD TALKS WITH MBADIWE, A FORMER MEMBER OF THE BALEWA GOVERNMENT AND A CLOSE ADVISOR TO AZIKWEI. MBADIWE, WHO IS FROM EASTERN

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 MONROV 02415 271857Z

REGION BUT WHO PROFESSED TO BE ACTING ON HIS OWN, SUGGESTED THAT THERE BE TALKS BETWEEN FEDERALS AND BIAFRANS. THEREAFTER HE WROTE CERTAIN POLITICIANS IN NIGERIA ASKING THEM TO PARTICIPATE IN TALKS. A DELEGATION WAS SENT TO THE UNITED STATES TO TALK WITH MBADIWE. ON ARRIVAL THEY WERE TOLD THAT TALKS COULD NOT TAKE PLACE THERE BUT WOULD HAVE TO BE IN GENEVA.

4. THE GROUP THEN PROCEEDED TO GENEVA WHERE THEY FOUND THAT SEVERAL BIAFRANS WERE GOING TO JOIN IN THE TALKS INCLUDING MOJEKWU. THE BIAFRANS SAID THAT THREE CONDITIONS WERE NECESSARY BEFORE THERE COULD BE TALKS. FIRST THEY MUST TALK AS EQUALS. SECOND THE OAU MUST NOT BE CONCERNED WITH THE TALKS IN ANY WAY. THIRD THERE WOULD HAVE TO BE A CEASE-FIRE WHILE TALKS WERE IN PROGRESS. SINCE FMG REPRESENTATIVES COULD NOT ACCEPT THESE CONDITIONS THE TALKS DID NOT TAKE PLACE.

5. TUBMAN WAS ADVISED BY AHMATU THAT THE LATTER WILL PROBABLY BE GOING TO LONDON SHORTLY TO TALK WITH AZIKEWI. HE BELIEVES THAT AZIKEWI HAS SOME THOUGHTS HE WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS BUT DOES NOT WISH TO PUT THEM IN WRITING SINCE HE STILL HAS RELATIVES IN BIAFRA.

6. GOWON WANTED TUBMAN TO BE APPRISED OF THE ABOVE INFORMATION BEFORE GOING TO LONDON, PARTICULARLY SINCE IT IS POSSIBLE THAT AZIKEWI MAY CONTACT TUBMAN THERE AND SEEK A MEETING WITH HIM. GOWON WILL INSTRUCT HIS HIGH COMMISSIONER IN LONDON TO KEEP TUBMAN ADVISED OF ANY DEVELOPMENTS.

7. GRIMES THEN SHOWED ME THE TWO LETTERS GOWON HAD SENT BY HIS PRINCIPAL SECRETARY. ONE WAS SIMPLY A THANK-YOU NOTE FOR TUBMAN'S WEDDING GIFT. THE OTHER EXPRESSED GOWON'S APPRECIATION TO TUBMAN FOR HIS EFFORTS DURING THE MONROVIA CONCOM MEETING AND STATED THAT IT WAS UNFORTUNATE THAT THE "REBEL" DELEGATION WAS NOT AS REASONABLE AS THAT REPRESENTING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. BROWN

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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YR POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

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Classification

27 MAY 69 17/17Z

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Origin	ACTION: Amembassy	ACCRA	IMMEDIATE
	"	LAGOS	"
Info:	INFO: Amembassy	ADDIS ABABA	PRIORITY
	"	LONDON	"
	USMission	GENEVA	"

LIMDIS

LAGOS FOR FERGUSON

REF: (a) Lagos 4747, (b) Accra 1638 (NOTAL), (c) Accra 1572,
(d) State 76314

1. We seriously disturbed that Arikpo, presumably with Enahoro encouragement, has injected new element which conflicts with your role as impartial seeker of agreement between parties on relief routes. Insistence on role for HIM and OAU at this point could seriously jeopardize your credibility in Biafran eyes and indeed success of your entire mission. New information available here indicates Biafrans most suspicious of what they term pro-FMG leanings of USG relief activity and we consider that for you to push for issuance of invitation by Emperor could place in serious doubt chances for Biafran acceptance. We cannot believe that Gowon would wish to be responsible for injection new factor into projected relief talks which might wreck such possibility.

2. Accordingly, you are requested to seek appointment immediately

Drafted by:	Tel. Ext.	Telegraphic transmission and
AF/W:RMMeibourne:RPSmith:emb	2619	classification approved by: AF - Joseph Palmer 2nd
Clearances:	5/27/69	
AF - Ambassador Moore	U/CF - Mr. Schott	
U - Mr. Ruser		

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FORM DS-322
8-65

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Authority: VMD 950/503
By: MNARA Date: 10/5/00

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Origin ~~XXXXXX~~ Page 2 - Amembassy ACCRA, LAGOS IMMEDIATE

Info: _____
with Arikpo prior to your meeting with Gowon on basis receipt new instructions from Washington. You should state to Arikpo that he well aware of long-standing USG support for OAU and HIM's efforts toward peaceful settlement. By seeking to have HIM issue invitation for relief route talks, FMG risks misunderstanding in rest of world (and perhaps by Biafrans) that political aspects of dispute are to be given prominence rather than technical relief questions. Believe it truly in interest FMG and all Nigerians that you be allowed to continue your efforts in technical relief field and not confuse your role, which has been well understood internationally^{and}/in US, which would result by coupling with Emperor. You can state that you would be happy to keep HIM informed of relief developments in which you engaged to full extent FMG desires, although your prior understanding had been that both sides desired secret talks on technical relief matters and looked to Ferguson to make appropriate arrangements. Accordingly you would appreciate Arikpo conveying these ideas to Gowon so that he may have opportunity for reflection prior to your meeting.

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~~ACTION~~ Page 3 - Amembassy ACCRA, LAGOS IMMEDIATE

Info:

3. In light Biafran suspicions mentioned above, we consider it essential that you maintain your credibility with them. Therefore, believe you should consider revision of your schedule following your meeting with Gowon to permit visit to Biafra for frank discussion on site of talks, relief route plan and related matters with Ojukwu and ranking Biafrans. Believe this vital to success of your mission and that those with whom you have scheduled appointments in Europe will be understanding and share our view.

4. For Accra. Request that you defer acting on suggestion in para 13 C, ref (a) pending further instructions.

GP-1

END

RICHARDSON

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31

Pol 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria

SECRET 094

PAGE 01 ADDIS 02269 271534Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, EUR 17, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04, UPW 01,

UCF 05, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, 158 W
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R 271450Z MAY 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC 9573
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T ADDIS ABABA 2269

SUBJECT: NIGERIA

REF: LAGOS 4747

1. MOFA ASST MIN FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS MENGISTE DESTA, WHO ACCOMPANIED HIM TO LUSAKA AND MONROVIA LAST MONTH, TOLD EMBOFF MAY 26 NEITHER IEG NOR OAU SECRETARIAT WERE ACTIVELY PURSUING NIGERIAN PEACE INITIATIVES AT PRESENT TIME. HE REFERRED TO RECENT STATEMENT BY ZAMBIAN PRES KAUNDA TO EFFECT THAT CERTAIN UNNAMED AFRICAN STATES WERE UNDERTAKING MOVES OUTSIDE FRAME WORK OF OAU AND CONCOM, AND SAID IEG EXPECTED PRO-BIAFRAN STATES TO MAKE SOME EFFORTS PERSUADE OJUKWU COME TO TABLE WITH GOWON. ETHIOPIANS HAVE RECEIVED NO DIRECT INFORMATION ON SUCH MOVES, HOWEVER, AND DO NOT EXPECT TO.

(2) 2. NIGERIAN AMBASSADOR SANU TOLD AMBASSADOR YESTERDAY PERM SECRETARY NIGERIAN FOREIGN SERVICE VISITING ADDIS TO MEET WITH HIM NEXT WEEK. HE EXPECTED HIM WOULD BE INFORMED AT THAT TIME SECRET PEACE NEGOTIATION FEELERS PUT OUT TO FMG BY BIAFRANS AND OF INTENTION FMG PURSUE SUCH POSSIBILITIES IF HIM SAW NO OBJECTION. AMBASSADOR WILL MEET WITH SANU AND PERM SECRETARY JUNE 5.

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PAGE 02 ADDIS 02269 271534Z

3. WOULD EXPECT POSITIVE REACTION HIM TO PROPOSAL RELIEF
DISCUSSIONS UNDER HIM'S AEGIS AS PROPOSED LAGOS 4747. WHILE
HIM WOULD NO DOUBT PREFER ADDIS SITE, BELIEVE HE RECOGNIZES
PROBLEMS THIS CREATES FOR BIAFRANS AND WOULD CONSIDER PROSPECT
OF USEFUL MEETING OVERRIDING. HALL!

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POW 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State

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SECRET 297

PAGE 01 PARIS 07724 241258Z

42
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CIAE 00, /071 W

084104

R 241225Z MAY 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4054
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

SECRET PARIS 7724

LIMDIS

REF: PARIS 3824

1. QUAI POLITICAL DIRECTOR DE BEAUMARCHAIS ASKED ME TO CALL THIS AFTERNOON (MAY 23) TO READ ME TELEGRAM WHICH QUAI HAD JUST RECEIVED FROM FRENCH CHARGE IN ABIDJAN. FRENCH CHARGE HAD BEEN ASKED TO SEE HOUPHOUET TO URGE LATTER TO USE HIS INFLUENCE WITH OJUKWU TO BRING ABOUT "END OFFIGHTING AS SUGGESTED BY USG THROUGH AMBASSADOR SHRIVER." HOUPHOUET'S ANSWER WAS THAT HE WAS READY TO AID IN SETTLEMENT IF THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT WOULD AGREE TO AN UNCONDITIONAL CEASEFIRE TO BE FOLLOWED WITH NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS. IF THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT AGREES, THEN HOUPHOUET IS READY TO INTERVENE WITH OJUKWU TO GET HIM TO PARTICIPATE IN SUCH NEGOTIATIONS. FURTHERMORE, HOUPHOUET SAID THAT HE IS READY HIMSELF TO PARTICIPATE IN ANY SUCH TALKS.

2. EMBOFF FOLLOWED UP ON THIS QUESTION MORNING MAY 24 WITH QUAI DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR NON-FRENCH AFRICA GUEURY. GUEURY SAID THAT POSITION TAKEN BY HOUPHOUET IN TALK WITH FRENCH CHARGE ABIDJAN IS SAME AS THAT HE TOOK WITH DEBRE HERE MAY 3. HE NOTED THAT IT IS TOUGHER THAN POSITION TAKEN BY BIAFRAN DEL AT MONROVIA MEETING OAU CONCOM WHERE CEASEFIRE NOT MENTIONED AS PRECONDITION TO TALKS WITH LAGOS. EMBOFF COMMENTED THAT IT IS ALSO TOUGHER THAN POSITION TAKEN BY HOUPHOUET HIMSELF DURING

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TALKS WITH AMBASSADOR SHRIVER PRIOR TO AND JUST AFTER MONROVIA MEETING. GUEURY PROFESSED NOT TO KNOW CURRENT THINKING OF OJUKWU ON QUESTION TALKS WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS.

3. COMMENT: HOUPHOUET'S REVERSION TO ORIGINAL BIAFRAN LINE DEMANDING UNCONDITIONAL CEASEFIRE BEFORE TALKS PLUS ABSENCE OF ANY INITIATIVE BY HOUPHOUET TO CONTACT PRESIDENT TUBMAN WOULD SEEM INDICATE HE HAS LOST INTEREST IN PEACEMAKER ROLE. STIFFENING OF HIS POSITION APPEARS TO COINCIDE WITH IMPROVING BIAFRAN MILITARY FORTUNES, WHEREAS HIS ORIGINAL INITIATIVE WITH US COINCIDED WITH LOW PERIOD FOR BIAFRANS WHEN OMAHIA ELL. IT MAY ALSO BE THAT IVORY COAST INTERNAL TROUBLES HAVE SOMEHOW CONTRIBUTED TO TOUGHER POSITION. IN ANY EVENT, IT IS UNLIKELY WE WILL SEE MUCH IN WAY OF FRENCH EFFORT BRING ABOUT PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT AT LEAST UNTIL NEW PRESIDENT HAS BEEN ELECTED AND NEW GOVERNMENT HAS HAD TIME TO FOCUS ON NIGERIA/ BIAFRA QUESTION. BLAKE

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-
Department of State ^{NIGERIA}
XL **TELEGRAM**

POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

SECRET 029

PAGE 01 ACCRA 01638 240909Z

22
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CIAE 00, /071 W

083160

R 231805Z MAY 69
FM AMEMBASSY ACCRA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6295

S E C R E T ACCRA 1638

LIMDIS

NOFORN

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR

REF: ACCRA 1572 AND STATE 76314

1. CALLED ON AFRIFA MAY 23 FOR GENERAL CONVERSATION PRIOR WASHINGTON CONSULTATION. HARLEY AND ANIN PRESENT. AMONG OTHER TOPICS, I RAISED NIGERIA, REFERRING TO CONVERSATION WITH AFRIFA APRIL 24 (ACCRA 1273).

2. AFRIFA ASKED HARLEY TO FILL ME IN ON WHAT GOG DOING. HARLEY REPEATED WHAT HE HAD TOLD ME ON MAY 19 (ACCRA 1572) WITHOUT, HOWEVER, REFERRING TO OUR CONVERSATION.

3. AFRIFA ASKED WHAT USG ATTITUDE WAS ON GOG INITIATIVE. I REPEATED WHAT I HAD SAID TO HARLEY (PARA 3, ACCRA 1572). AFRIFA THEN SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW SPECIFICALLY WHETHER USG APPROVED PARTICULAR INITIATIVE GOG HAD IN MIND, ASSUMING REASONABLE RESPONSE FROM MBANEFO. HE ASKED WHETHER USG PREPARED GIVE QTE CONCRETE ASSISTANCE END QTE TO INITIATIVE. DURING SUBSEQUENT EXCHANGE INTENDED TO CLARIFY MEANING OF QTE CONCRETE ASSISTANCE END QTE, ANIN STRONGLY OPPOSED ANY US DIRECT INVOLVEMENT THAT MIGHT SUGGEST, PARTICULARLY TO SOVIETS, USG HAD PROMPTED GOG TO ACT. FINALLY AFRIFA SAID GOG NOT RPT NOT REQUESTING ANY ACTION BY USG BUT CONSIDERED IT VERY IMPORTANT TO KNOW WHETHER USG THOUGHT SECRET MEDIATION GOG PLANNING GAVE ANY PROMISE SUCCESS AND WHETHER USG APPROVED OF ACTION.

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PAGE 02 ACCRA 01638 240909Z

4. I SAID I COULD NOT ANSWER SUCH PRECISE QUESTIONS WITHOUT CONSULTING DEPARTMENT. SINCE MBANEFO WOULD REPLY AT EARLIEST IN ABOUT A WEEK, BEST COURSE OF ACTION APPEARED FOR ME TO RAISE MATTER IN WASHINGTON AND SEND INSTRUCTIONS TO CHARGE FOLEY SOMETIME NEXT WEEK. AFRIFA AGREED.

5. I SAID I THOUGHT IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION TO USG WOULD BE APPARENT GOG IGNORING OF CONCOM MECHANISM OAU HAD SET UP TO DEAL WITH PROBLEM. DID GOG INTEND PROCEED INDEPENDENTLY OR WAS SOME FUTURE RETURN TO OAU FRAMEWORK PLANNED? HARLEY REPLIED THAT GOG INITIATIVE INTENDED TO PARALLEL OAU ACTION. IT WOULD BE USELESS TO RESORT TO CONCOM AGAIN BECAUSE OF STRONG PRO-FMG BIAS ON PART MOBUTO AND AHIDJO. BUT GOG ACTION CONSISTENT WITH OAU OBJECTIVE OF ENDING CIVIL WAR AND, IF INITIATIVE SUCCEEDED, OAU COULD PLAY ROLE IN SETTLEMENT. I SAID ALTERNATIVE WAS TO TRY TO REVISE CONCOM TERMS OF REFERENCE, BUT AFRIFA AND HARLEY REJECTED THIS AS UNREALISTIC AND, IN ANY CASE, TOO TIME-CONSUMING.

6. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION, HARLEY SAID PRECISE PURPOSE OF INITIATIVE WAS TO PERSUADE GOWON AND OJUKWU TO AGREE TO CEASE-FIRE PREPARATORY TO NEGOTIATING SETTLEMENT. NEGOTIATIONS WOULD HAVE TO BE WITHOUT PRE-CONDITIONS, I.E., QTE

UNITED NIGERIA. END QTE FORMULA WOULD HAVE TO BE DROPPED OR AT LEAST NOT RPT NOT MADE EXPLICIT.

7. IN RESPONSE FURTHER QUESTION, AFRIFA SAID INITIATIVE HAD NOT RPT NOT BEEN DISCUSSED WITH BRITISH OR ANY OTHER GOVERNMENT. GOG CONSIDERED IT USELESS TO DISCUSS WITH BRITISH BECAUSE UK SO COMPLETELY COMMITTED TO FMG. USG WAS IN BEST POSITION OF MAJOR POWERS TO GIVE ADVISE BECAUSE IT HAS MAINTAINED OBJECTIVITY BY STAYING ALOOF FROM MILITARY AND POLITICAL ASPECTS OF DISPUTE AND WAS NOT MOTIVATED BY ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS LIKE OIL. I POINTED OUT BRITISH INTEREST IN NIGERIA COULD SCARCELY BE IGNORED AND, GIVEN VERY CLOSE UK-GHANA RELATIONS, BRITISH WOULD CONSIDER IT FOREGONE CONCLUSION GOG WOULD CONSULT ON SUCH MATTER. I REMINDED AFRIFA FONOFF PERMSEC MAURICE FOLEY WOULD BE IN ACCRA NEXT WEEK AND WOULD DOUBTLESS RAISE NIGERIA FOR DISCUSSION. TO ANIA'S OBVIOUS DISCOMFORT, AFRIFA SAID HE WOULD GIVE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO CONSULTING BRITISH.

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PAGE 03 ACCRA 01638 240909Z

8. SEVERAL TIMES DURING CONVERSATION AFRIFA STRESSED NEED FOR ABSOLUTE SECRET AND ASKED THAT KNOWLEDGE OF OUR DISCUSSION BE LIMITED TO AS FEW PEOPLE AS POSSIBLE WITHIN USG. I ASSURED HIM THIS WOULD BE CASE. MCELHINEY

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Pol 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria
SECRET 434

PAGE 01 LONDON 04079 231708Z

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ACTION SS 70

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R 231640Z MAY 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 652
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

SECRET LONDON 4079

LIMDIS/NOFORN

LAGOS FOR AMB FERGUSON

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN APPROACH TO BRITISH

REF: LONDON 4012 - *Pol 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria*

1. BRITISH HAVE DECIDED TO TELL FMG ABOUT KOGBARA'S APPROACH TO TEBBIT (REFTEL) AND TO SAY FONOFF IS PREPARED TO HAVE MALCOM MACDONALD TALK TO BIAFRANS AND FIND OUT WHAT IS ON THEIR MINDS, IF NIGERIANS HAVE NO OBJECTION. INSTRUCTIONS TO THIS EFFECT HAVE GONE TO BRITISH WICOMER HUNT WHO WILL BE SEEING ARIKPO BEFORE HUNT'S DEPARTURE FROM LAGOS.

2. FONOFF'S MOBERLY (WEST AFRICAN DEPT) DOUBTS FMG WILL INTERPOSE ANY OBJECTION TO EXPLORATORY MEETING BETWEEN MACDONALD AND BIAFRANS. IF MACDONALD THOUGHT HE SAW OPENING AFTER TALKING TO BIAFRANS HE WOULD THEN TRY TO ARRANGE SOMETHING WITH FMG.

ANNENBERG

*London - 4079
5-23-69*

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I N C O M I N G

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SERIAL 4079

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CIA 1
USIA 4
PC 1

Other

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AA/NESA 2
TRSY 6
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0892

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Authority VND 959503
By MV NARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

21

Pol 27-14 Biafra - Nigeria

SECRET 543

PAGE 01 LONDON 04012 211913Z

83
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CIAE: 00, /071 W

061627

R 211646Z MAY 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 604
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY GENEVA
ADDIS ABABA 355

SECRET LONDON 4012

LIMIDIS/NOFORN

GENEVA FOR AMB FERGUSON

SUB: BIAFRAN APPROACH TO BRITISH

REF: LAGOS 4018

1. FONOFF'S MOBERLY (WEST AFRICAN DEPT) HAS FILLED US IN ON TALK MAY 19 BETWEEN BIAFRAN REP KOGBARA AND ASST. UNDER SECT, DONALD TEBBIT. MEETING TOOK PLACE AT KOGBARA'S REQUEST AND MAIN PURPOSE WAS TO TELL TEBBIT THAT BIAFRANS WOULD STILL LIKE TO TALK TO MALCOLM MACDONALD (REFTEL). KOGBARA'S IMPLICATION WAS THAT BIAFRANS WISHED TO EXPLORE WITH MACDONALD POSSIBILITIES FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT.

2. TEBBIT TOLD KOGBARA HE WOULD SEE IF MEETING WAS FEASIBLE FROM MACDONALD'S AND BRITISH GOVT STANDPOINT. HIS PERSONAL OPINION WAS THAT IF MEETING WAS HELD FMG HAD TO BE TOLD ABOUT IT, ESPECIALLY IF BIAFRANS ENVISAGED TALKS WITH MACDONALD LEADING EVENTUALLY INTO FACE-TO-FACE MEETING WITH NIGERIANS. KOGBARA'S REACTION WAS UNCLEAR, BUT HE DID SAY THAT IT WOULD BE "UNREALISTIC" TO ASK BIAFRANS TO CONCEDE ANYTHING (PRESUMABLY ON ONE NIGERIA CONCEPT) "UNTIL THEY HAD EXPLORED QUESTION OF GUARANTEES".

3. WE ASKED MOBERLY IF KOGBARA HAD INDICATED WHETHER HE WAS ACTING ON INSTRUCTIONS OF BIAFRAN LEADERSHIP AND

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SECRET

PAGE 02 LONDON 04012 211913Z

MOBERLY SAID QUESTION HAD APPARENTLY NOT ARISEN.

4. MOBERLY REQUESTS THAT WE HOLD FOREGOING IN STRICT
CONFIDENCE AND HANDLE ON NOFORN BASIS. ANNENBERG

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I N C O M I N G

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SERIAL 4012

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1969 MAY 21 PM 5 42

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MONTHLY COUNT 510

Secretariat

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Task Force

Principals and
"S" Area

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Geographic

AF 5 25
ARA 9
EA 11
EUR 10
NEA 8

Functional

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Other

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Other

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By MVA Date 10/5/03

37



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 868

PAGE 01 MONROV 02291 201406Z

47
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CIAE 00, /071 W

051204

P R 201307Z MAY 69
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6775
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T MONROVIA 2291

LIMDIS

REFERENCE: MONROVIA 2071 AND 2252 NOTAL

SUBJECT: NIGERIA: PEACE INITIATIVES:

1. TUBMAN READ ME THIS MORNING A MESSAGE FROM LIBERIAN AMBASSADOR IN LAGOS. MESSAGE QUOTED GOWON AS EXPRESSING REGRET HE COULD NOT ACCEPT TUBMAN'S INVITATION TO VISIT MONROVIA. GOWON GAVE AS REASONS RECENT CHANGES IN TOP COMMANDERS WHICH REQUIRED HIM TO KEEP A VERY CLOSE WATCH ON THE SITUATION IN NIGERIA AND THE FACT THAT HE HAD BEEN ADVISED BY HIS PILOTS THAT HE SHOULD NOT TAKE A LONG TRIP IN HIS PLANE UNTIL IT HAS BEEN OVERHAULED. HE STATED THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE A FIRM DATE TO VISIT TUBMAN AFTER LATTER'S RETURN.

2. GOWON ADDED THAT THREE FEDERAL OFFICIALS ARE NOW IN PRIVATE TALKS WITH BIAFRANS IN GENEVA. HE WANTED TUBMAN TO LEARN THIS FROM HIM RATHER THAN THROUGH OTHER SOURCES. GOWON WENT ON TO SAY THAT IF IT APPEARED TALKS WOULD BEAR FRUIT HE WOULD SEE THAT THEY WERE CH NNELED THROUGH CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE SO AS TO PROTECT INTEGRITY OF THAT GROUP AND THE OAU.

3. TUBMAN COMMENTED THAT HE DID NOT BELIEVE THE TALKS:

SECRET

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Monrovia 2291
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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET

PAGE 02 MONROV 02291 201406Z

SHOULD BE SO CHanneled IF THEY LOOK PROMISING SINCE THE BIAFRANS DO NOT TRUST EITHER OAU OR CONCOM.

4. TUBMAN FEELS THAT NOW THERE IS NO INITIATIVE HE CAN PROPERLY TAKE IN VIEW OF GOWON'S INABILITY TO VISIT HIM AND HIS OWN IMPENDING DEPARTURE MAY 23. HE DID NOT COMMUNICATE WITH HOUPHOUET. BROWN

SECRET

27

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By	MVA/ARA Date 10/5/05

L I M D I S
I N C O M I N G

TOP SECRET

Screener 100

POST MONROVIA

SERIAL 2291

(Time Received)

DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT

Secretariat

S/S-S 1
S/S-O 1
S/S-Screener 3
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Task Force

Principals and
"S" Area

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Geographic

AF 5 X 5
ARA 9
EA 11
EUR 10 - 10
NEA 8

Functional

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Other

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Other

ACDA 5
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By MM/ARA Date 10/5/03

37



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 808

PAGE 01 MONROV 02252 191119Z

45
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CIAE 00, /071 W

042532

R 191010Z MAY 69
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6759
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

S E C R E T MONROVIA 2252

LIMDIS

REFERENCE: MONROVIA 2071; PARIS 7201

SUBJECT: NIGERIA: PEACE INITIATIVES

1. MAY 14 TO 18 DURING WHICH PRESIDENT TUBMAN STATED HE WOULD ASK GOWON TO VISIT MONROVIA HAVING PASSED WITH NO INFORMATION INDICATING ANY CONTACT BETWEEN TUBMAN AND GOWON, I HAVE REQUESTED AUDIENCE WITH TUBMAN TO DETERMINE WHETHER HE HAS COMMUNICATED WITH GOWON AND WHAT HIS PLANS ARE FOR FUTURE.

2. IT WILL BE REMEMBERED TUBMAN PLANS DEPART MONROVIA FOR UK MAY 23. BROWN

Monrovia 2252
5-19-69

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By MNARA Date 10/5/05

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MONTHLY COUNT

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Geographic

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Digest
Task Force

AF 5
ARA 9
EA 11
EUR 10
NEA 8

ACDA 5
AID/EXSEC 3
AA/AFR 2
AA/VN 2
AA/EA 3
AA/NESA 2

Functional

Principals and
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Other

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2/10/69

0900

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 342

PAGE 01 LAGOS 04437 191801Z

45
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CIAE 00, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, /071 W
045000

P R 191620Z MAY 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6636
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMCONSUL IBADAN
AMCONSUL KADUNA
CINCSTRIKE
DIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 4437

LIMDIS-NOFORN

SUBJECT: CURRENT NIGERIAN VIEW ON PEACE INITIATIVES

1. IN FAREWELL CALL ON COMMISSIONER EXTAFF ARIKPO DEPARTING
BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER HUNT (PROTECT) ASKED ABOUT RECENT PEACE
INITIATIVES. FOLLOWING IS HUNT'S REPORT:

2. "I REFERRED TO HIS CONVERSATION WITH MR. FOLEY ABOUT
THE CHESHIRE APPROACH AND ENQUIRED WHETHER THERE HAD BEEN
ANY DEVELOPMENTS. HE SAID THERE HAD NOT BEEN ANY ON THIS
FRONT BUT THEY HAD HAD OTHER INDICATIONS THAT THE BIAFRANS
WERE NOW MOST ANXIOUS FOR SECRET BILATERAL TALKS. THE
REASON WAS PLAIN: THEY HAD SUFFERED A GREAT DISAPPOINTMENT
AT MONROVIA AFTER STARTING WITH HIGH HOPES THAT HOUHPUET
BOIGNY WOULD BE PRESENT AND BACK THEM UP. THEY NOW,
HEREFORE, HE SAID, WERE ANXIOUS TO DO EVERYTHING THEY COULD

TO BYPASS THE A. D. LINE IF POSSIBLE TO SHOW IT UP TO BEING
INCAPABLE OF CARRYING OUT THE A. D. LINE.

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By MVA Date 10/3/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 04437 191801Z

ON TO SAY THAT THEY HAD HAD A DIRECT APPROACH IN AMERICA:
FROM WHAT HE TOLD MY AMERICAN COLLEAGUE THIS WAS APPARENTLY
MADE TO PROVOST SEGUN OF THE ANGLICAN CHATHEDRAL IN LAGOS

BY A GROUP OF BIAFRANS IN AMERICA. IT WAS AS A RESULT OF
THIS THAT THEY HAD SENT COMMISSIONER DIKKO TO AMERICA.
THE BIAFRANS HAD INSISTED ON THE VERY GREATEST SECRECY,
WHICH WAS WHY THE FEDERALS HAD SAID NOTHING, NOT EVEN
TO THE AMERICANS WHEN APPLYING FOR A VISA, ALTHOUGH THEY WERE
SURPRISED TO LEARN THAT WHEN MOJEKWU APPLIED IN LISBON FOR
AN AMERICAN VISA HE SAID OPENLY HE WAS GOING FOR PEACE
TALKS. THE DIKKO MISSION HAD BEEN FRUITLESS AS THE
BIAFRANS HAD PUT FORWARD NO PROPOSALS: HE THOUGHT DIKKO
HAD RETURNED TO LAGOS.

3. "I ASKED ABOUT STORIES OF A LIBERIAN INITIATIVE. ARIKPO
SAID THAT, IN REPLY TO A QUESTION PUT BY VICE-PRESIDENT
TOLBERT, THEY HAD SAID THEY WERE READY FOR TALKS AT ANY
TIME WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS THOUGH THEY THOUGHT THEY
SHOULD BE UNDER OAU AUSPICES (THIS AS YOU SEE IS
INCONSISTENT WITH THEIR AGREEMENT TO THE DIKKO/MOJEKWU
TALKS BUT NO DOUBT THEY THOUGHT IT NECESSARY TO SPEAK LIKE
THIS TO TOLBERT, FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW IT IS A GOOD
THING THAT THEY ARE STILL READY FOR ANY KIND OF TALKS).

4. " I SAID WE HAD BEEN VERY PLEASED TO SEE THAT CHIEF
ENAHORO HAD CORRECTED A MISQUOTATION OF HIS REMARKS ABOUT

NEGOTIATIONS. ARIKPO CONFIRMED THAT THE QUESTION OF
DISCUSSING WITH OTHER INTERLOCUTORS WOULD ONLY ARISE WHEN
THE REBEL ENCLAVE HAD BEEN REDUCED TO A MINIMUM AND WHEN
SO MANY IBO LEADERS HAD RALLIED TO THE FEDERALS SIDE THAT
THEY COULD NOT REFUSE TO TREAT THEM RATHER THAN OJUKWU
AS VALID NEGOTIATORS. I SAID THERE WAS A DANGER EVEN
THEN THAT IT MIGHT ENCOURAGE THE DIE-HARDS TO AN EVEN
MORE DESPERATE RESISTANCE. ARIKPO SAID THAT THEY WOULD
NOT MAKE ANY CHANGE IN THEIR POLICY WITHOUT TELLING US
WELL IN ADVANCE."

GP-1. OLSON

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Authority	VND 950503
By	MN NARA Date 10/5/05

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MONTHLY COUNT

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Task Force _____

Principals and "S" Area

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Geographic

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Other

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Other

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AID/EXSEC 3
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Authority VMD 954503
By M/NARA Date 10/5/03

37



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 378

PAGE 01 ACCRA 01572, 200814Z

14
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, AID 28, GR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, UpW 01, UCF 05,

CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, IO 13, RSR 01, 158 W

049039

R 191616Z MAY 69
FM AMEMBASSY ACCRA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6255
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

S E C R E T ACCRA 1572

NOFORN

SUBJ: NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR

1. IN COURSE GENERAL CONVERSATION WITH HARLEY MAY 19, I
ASKED WHETHER THERE HAD BEEN ANY DEVELOPMENTS RE GOG ATTITUDE
TOWARD NIGERIA SINCE HIS RETURN FROM MONROVIA CONCOM MEETING.

2. HE SAID BIAFRAN CHIEF JUSTICE MBANEFO HAD CALLED ON HIM
WHILE IN GHANA (ACCRA 1410) TO DISCUSS POSSIBLE PEACE INITIATIVE
BY GOG (SEE AGA 3910 AND AGA 3913. ACCORDING LATTER, MBANEFO
ALSO SAW AFRIFA AND BUSIA, AS WELL AS HARLEY.) HARLEY SAID
HE ASKED MBANEFO FOR PRECISE STATEMENT OF TERMS OF REFER-
ENCE FOR MEDIATOR THAT WOULD PERMIT BIAFRAN PARTICIPATION
IN NEGOTIATIONS TO END WAR. HARLEY EXPECTED MBANEFO TO
SEND STATEMENT BY PRIVATE COURIER, AFTER CONSULTATION WITH
OUUKWU, BY END OF NEXT WEEK. HARLEY SAID IF STATEMENT
GAVE ANY PROMISE THAT INITIATIVE WOULD BE USEFUL, HE WOULD
GO TO LAGOS TO DISCUSS MATTER WITH GOWON. HE WOULD THEN
SEEK TO ARRANGE SECRET MEETING EITHER BETWEEN GOWON AND

SECRET

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By	MMNARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 ACCRA 01572 200814Z

OJUKWU OR BETWEEN THEIR PRINCIPAL LIEUTENANTS, WITH OBJECT NEGOTIATING CEASE-FIRE AND POSSIBLY END OF CIVIL WAR. HE TOOK SAME LINE AS AFRIFA (ACCRA 1273) ON INADVISABILITY BIG-POWER INVOLVEMENT OR FURTHER CONCOM CONFERENCES. (IN FACT, GOG NOW SEEMS TO BE OPERATING WITHOUT REFERENCE TO OAU.)

3. I TOLD HARLEY THAT AFRIFA HAD INDICATED EARLIER TO ME GOG CONSIDERING INITIATIVE AND, IN LIGHT HARLEY'S REMARKS TO ME, I WOULD CHECK WITH AFRIFA ON MATTER WHEN I SAW HIM LATER IN WEEK. I SAID USG BELIEVED NIGERIAN SETTLEMENT WAS MATTER FOR AFRICAN LEADERS TO DEAL WITH. WHILE WE DID NOT INTEND

TAKE INITIATIVE PUBLICLY ON PEACE TALKS OR CEASE-FIRE, WE WOULD SUPPORT INITIATIVE BY AFRICANS THAT GAVE PROMISE SUCCESS. I TOLD HIM WE THEREFORE INTERESTED IN ANY PROGRESS GOG MIGHT MAKE AND ASKED HIM TO KEEP CHARGE FOLEY INFORMED IN BY ABSENCE FROM ACCRA FOR MONTH BEGINNING LATE MAY. HE AGREED TO DO SO. MCELHINEY

SECRET

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Authority VND 959503
By MNARA Date 10/15/05

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

CONFIDENTIAL
 Classification

POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
 075178
 13 MAY 69 13 54z
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Origin
 Info:

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY
 INFO : Amembassy ACCRA
 " ADDIS ABABA
 " LONDON
 " MONROVIA
 " PARIS
 USMission GENEVA
 USUN

Subj: Nigeria: Enahoro Statement on no Future Peace Talks
 Ref: London 3703; Lagos 4209

Department shares British concern over Enahoro's statement quoted in London and Lagos press QTE virtually ruling out UNQTE possibility of future peace negotiations *** with Biafra. Would appreciate Embassy ascertaining whether Enahoro's statement indicates new FMG policy.

RICHARDSON

Drafted by: *RW*
 AF/W: R JWach:ba 5/13/69
 Clearances:
 Tel. Ext. 2946
 Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: AF/W - *RMM by pr* Roy M. Melbourne

CONFIDENTIAL
 Classification

FORM 8-65 DS-322

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 Authority: *VND 9503*
 By: *MV* Date: *10/5/03*

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POL 2714 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
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ClassificationA/K
14 MAY 69 20 32
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Origin	ACTION: Amembassy ACCRA
Info:	INFO : Amembassy ADDIS ABABA
	" KINSHASA
	" LAGOS
	" LONDON
	" MONROVIA
	" NIAMEY
	" YAOUNDE

Subj: Nigerian Civil War

Ref: (a) Accra 1463; (b) State 73938; (c) State 69521

In your meeting with Afrifa prior departing for Washington, believe it would be useful to make low-key reference to Nigeria along lines para 2 ref b. Despite possible initiatives elsewhere, we remain interested in progress, if any, of proposed GOG initiative. USG position continues be as stated para 2 ref c.

RICHARDSON

(8)

Drafted by: AF/W:RPSmith:ba 5/14/69	Tel. Ext. 6402	Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: AF/W - Roy W. Melbourne
Clearances:		

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

5-13-69
4247

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 04247 131757Z

46
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, SSO 00, NSCE 00, CIAE 00, USIE 00, JPM 04, H 02,
INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, SR 01, ORM 03,
SCS 04, SCA 01, UCF 05, UPW 01, AID 28, RSR 01, 146 W
005442

R 131600Z MAY 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6531
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
CINCSRIKE
DIA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LAGOS 4247

SUBJ: FMG POSITION ON PEACE TALKS

1. REUTERS LAGOS BUREAU AND NIGERIAN TV ON MAY 12 QUOTED COMMISSIONER INFO ENAHORO, ON RETURN FROM OVERSEAS TRIP, MAY 11, AS SAYING HE "RULED OUT POSSIBILITY OF FUTURE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS WITH BIAFRA," AND THAT "THERE NO RPT NO TIME FOR TALKING WITH SECESSIONISTS AGAIN."

2. LATER MAY 12, MINISTRY INFO ISSUED STATEMENT WHICH "CORRECTED WIDELY PUBLICIZED REPORT YESTERDAY THAT INFORMATION COMMISSIONER CHIEF ANTHONY ENAHORO HAD RULED OUT POSSIBILITY OF FUTURE PEACE TALKS WITH BIAFRA." STATEMENT ALSO SAID "CORRECTION: VERSION OF CHIEF ENAHORO'S PRESS CONFERENCE WAS THAT WITH THE CURRENT FEDERAL ADVANCE INTO THE IBO HEART."

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MNARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 04247 131757Z

LAND, BIAFRA WOULD DIMINISH TO A POINT WHERE INNER QUOTE
MEANINGFUL TALKS COULD NOT BE HELD CLOSE INNER QUOTE WITH
THE SECESSIONIST OJUKWU."

3. COMMENT: UNUSUAL ALACRITY IN CORRECTING ENAHORO'S
REMARKS ON PEACE TALKS SHOWS THAT FMG ALIVE TO NECESSITY
OF GETTING CORRECT VERSION BEFORE WORLD OPINION IN AFTERMATH
OF OAU TALKS IN MONROVIA. ENAHORO HAS BEEN TAKING HAWKISH
LINE INITIMATING THAT FURTHER TALKS APPARENTLY USELESS,
BUT HE OBVIOUSLY HAS NO RPT NO DESIRE APPEARING PUBLICLY
TO "RULE OUT" POSSIBILITY.

DECON UPON RECEIPT

MATHEWS

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23

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Authority	VND 954503
By	MW NARA Date 10/5/03

37.

POL 27-14

BIAFRA-NIGERIA
069521

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TOSECRET
ClassificationFOA
3 MAY 69 21 07Z
FOR OC/T USE ONLYOrigin
Info:ACTION: Amembassy MONROVIA PRIORITY
INFO : Amembassy ADDIS ABABA
" LONDON
" PARIS
" LAGOS~~XXXX~~ LIMDIS~~FOR AMBASSADOR FROM PALMER~~

Subj: Nigeria: Peace Initiatives

Ref: a) Monrovia 1851; b) Paris 5941

1. We are very appreciative of President Tubman's frank discussion of ConCom meeting and points of view expressed to him by FMG and Biafran representatives. FYI Ref (b) reports dialogue with Houphouet in Paris on such as working with Tubman to develop realistic formula for settlement, same subject. We welcome his intention to undertake further initiatives, although we recognize Tubman may balk at dealing with problem outside OAU ConCom channel. END FYI. We share Tubman's disappointment over failure of meeting to bring disputants to negotiating table and likewise think developments warrant further high level African initiative. Notwithstanding fall of Umuahia to FMG and Owerri to Biafrans, military situation may well remain basically stalemated for immediate future. Resignation of De Gaulle renders uncertain level of future French support for Biafra. World opinion increasingly preoccupied with need for negotiated settlement, indicating that both FMG and Biafran regime would be well served by sitting down for QTE talks about talks UNQTE, and without commitment to take up Biafran

Drafted by: AF/W:RWFaville/GBSherry:ba 4/30/69

Tel. Ext. 5462

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:

U - Under Secretary Richardson
~~AF-W:RWFaville/GBSherry:ba 4/30/69~~

Clearances:

AF/W-RPSmith

AF-J. Palmer

AF-Amb. Moore

S/S - Mr. Hawley

SECRET

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FORM DS-322
8-65

0910

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Authority VND 95/503
By MN Date 10/5/03

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
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Origin

ACTION: page two to Monrovia

Info.

(Mbanefo's) apparent willingness to explore definition of QTE united Nigeria UNQTE.

2. USG continues to believe that meaningful settlement can take place only in an African context led by African statesmen of stature. Consequently, USG not prepared take open political initiatives to try to arrange peace talks, cease-fire, or arms embargo. We would, however, lend our full support to initiative promising chance of success taken by African leaders.

3. Our present thinking is that initiative by one or two African statesmen would have greater chance of success than would an effort encompassing larger number. Another ConCom or an emergency OAU heads of states meeting at this stage would probably make little progress toward an agreement. President Tubman working in conjunction with President Houphouet-Boigny might currently be the most efficacious channel. Houphouet's influence on the Biafrans is commensurate with that of Tubman on the FMG. Both are involved in seeking peace and both have sufficient stature within Africa and world to make such an initiative meaningful.

4. Accordingly request that you seek early appointment with President Tubman to discuss Nigerian conflict. You may draw on ^{above} ~~below~~ outline of US thinking in course ensuing discussion and, if Tubman proves receptive,

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Tel. Ext.

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By MM NARA Date 10/5/00

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
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Origin
Info:

ACTION: page 3 to Monrovia

you can turn to manner and means as suggested in ensuing ~~xxxx~~ paragraphs. In doing so, you should emphasize again our view that we wish remain in background and support African initiatives. Following therefore for Tubman only, which he could use as he sees fit without attribution to USG. You should not reveal our discussions with Houphouet.

5. Springboard for Tubman action could be expressed willingness of FMG to talk initially without preconditions and Mbanefo's statement at Monrovia that Biafra wanted further definition of term QTE United Nigeria UNQTE as it affects lives and property of Biafran people. Talks seeking to elaborate this definition would serve interests of both parties.

6. In dealing with FMG, Tubman might:

A. Stress importance and urgency of talks without pre-conditions, if meaningful basis for peace to be found;

B. Urge commitment to meet with Biafrans without publicity;

C. Request elaboration precise form guarantees for protection and reintegration of Ibos will take;

D. Emphasize increasing African and world concern that bloodshed be stopped;

Drafted by:

Tel. Ext.

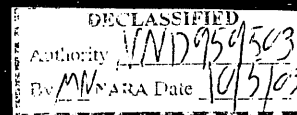
Telegraphic transmission and
classification approved by:

Clearances:

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Classification

FORM 8-65 DS-322

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

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Origin
Info:

ACTION: page 4 to Monrovia

- E. Warn against public airing of positions;
- F. Explain credibility of both sides would be increased by negotiations;
- G. Suggest that protracted talks, such as those on Vietnam in Paris, which continue even though fighting also continues, may be useful precedent.
- H. Express hope FMG would drop apparent pre-condition to talks of agreement on term QTE United Nigeria, UNQTE which seemed to have blocked progress at Monrovia.
- 7. Houphouet in dealing with Biafrans also might adapt substance above points and perhaps induce them to drop pre-condition of truce, which Biafrans raise on occasion.
- 8. We look forward to receiving President Tubman's views regarding his willingness to undertake initiative such as that described above, whether he feels it would be possible to enlist Houphouet's cooperation, and his opinion as to its chances of success.

GP-3

ROGERS

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Clearances:		

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FORM 8-65 DS-322

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By: MVA Date: 10/5/00

(11)



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 KADUNA 00451 131533Z

44

ACTION AF 18

INFO: OCT 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, IO 13, ACDA 16, SR 01, ORM 03,

UCF 05, RSR 01, UPW 01, 124 W

004646

R 131045Z MAY 69

FM AMCONSUL KADUNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1143

INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMCONSUL IBADAN

UNCLAS KADUNA 0451

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (GARBLED TEXT)

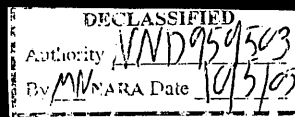
SUBJ: NEW NIGERIAN HAILS DECISION TO CEASE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.

MAY 13: NEW NIGERIAN LEAD EDITORIAL PRAISES ENAHORO ANNOUNCEMENT OF FMG DECISION TO HAVE NO FURTHER PEACE TALKS. REBELS UNWILLING TO COMPROMISE AND "WERE ALWAYS DEMANDING MORE." NIGERIAN PEOPLE HAVE REALIZED FOR MONTHS THAT TALKS WERE "FUTILE AND POINTLESS," AND DIFFERENCES SEPARATING TWO SIDES WERE "TOTAL." FMG DECISION TO ATTEND TALKS "MIGHT HAVE BEEN CYNICALLY DEFENDED AS "PUBLIC RELATIONS EXERCISES," BUT WESTERN NATIONS "BELIEVE WHAT THEY WANT TO BELIEVE" AND IN THEIR EYES "NOTHING SUCCEEDS LIKE SUCCESS." FMG PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY IS TO NIGERIAN PEOPLE WHO "ARE VERY IRRITATED BY THEIR GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS AT PLACATING PEOPLE." WHILE GRANTING "BROTHERLY TERMS" TO THOSE WHO SURRENDER AND GIVING PRIORITY TO REHABILITATION, FMG MUST "PURSUE SINGLE-MINDEDLY THE OBJECTIVE OF ENDING THE REBELLION." STOKES.

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State

TELEGRAM

5-12-69
4209

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 04209 122213Z

84.
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,
NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SPI 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, CU 04,
ACDA 16, MC 02, SCSE 00, SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03, RSR 01, 170 W
----- 130236

R 121650Z MAY 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6510
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK UNN
USIA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
STATE GRNC

UNCLAS LAGOS 4209

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PRESS ROUND-UP MAY 11/12

1. MILITARY COMMANDERS RE-SHUFFLED. MOST NIGERIAN PAPERS OVER WEEKEND
CARRIED VARYING ACCOUNTS OF WHAT CHANGES MIGHT BE MADE IN TOP
MILITARY APPOINTMENTS. FMG PUT AN END TO SPECULATION
BY ANNOUNCING LATE MAY 12 FOLLOWING CHANGES: EFFECTIVE MAY 17
COL. O. OBASANJO, COMMANDER, IBADAN GARRISON ORGANIZATION,
BECOMES GENERAL-OFFICER-COMMANDING (MAIN), THIRD MARINE
COMMANDO DIVISION;
COL. B. A. ADEKUNLE, GENERAL-OFFICER-COMMANDING, THIRD
MARINE COMMANDO DIVISION (MAIN), BECOMES DIRECTOR OF
TRAINING AND PLANNING AT SUPREME HEADQUARTERS;
COL. I. B. M. HARUNA, GENERAL-OFFICER-COMMANDING, SECOND
DIVISION (MAIN), BECOMES QUARTERMASTER-GENERAL, ARMY

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0915

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 959503
By MVA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 04209 122213Z

HEADQUARTERS:

COL. C.O. ROTIMI, QUARTERMASTER-GENERAL, ARMY HEADQUARTERS, BECOMES COMMANDER, IBADAN GARRISON ORGANIZATION;
LT. COL. G.S. JALLO, COMMANDER, SECOND DIVISION, (REAR), BECOMES ACTING GENERAL-OFFICER-COMMANDING, SECOND DIVISION (MAIN), EFFECTIVE ON A DATE TO BE ANNOUNCED;
COL. I.D. BISSALA, MILITARY SECRETARY, SUPREME HEADQUARTERS, WILL BE GENERAL-OFFICER-COMMANDING, FIRST DIVISION (MAIN);
COL. M. SHUWA, GENERAL-OFFICER-COMMANDING, FIRST DIVISION (MAIN), WILL BE MILITARY SECRETARY, SUPREME HEADQUARTERS.

2. (ENAHORO RETURNS). (POST AND TIMES) MAY 12 FEATURED STATEMENTS BY COMMISSIONER INFO ENAHORO ON RETURN FROM OVERSEAS TOUR. (POST) HEADLINED STORY "THE MISLED NOW UNDERSTAND", WHICH REFERRED TO "IGNORANT FOREIGNERS AND MISLED NIGERIAN STUDENTS ABROAD" WHO NOW ALLEGEDLY APPRECIATE THE FMG POINT OF VIEW. (DAILY TIMES) EMPHASIZED HIS STATEMENT THAT WAR WILL GO ON DESPITE TEMPORARY SETBACKS AT OVERRI. NBC-TIV WENT STEP FURTHER, AS DID REUTERS WIRE SERVICE SOTY IN SAYING ENAHORO VIRTUALLY "RULED OUT POSSIBILITY OF FUTURE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS WITH BIAFRA", AS "THERE NO REPEAT NOT TIME FOR TALKING WITH SECESSIONIST AGAIN". ENAHORO REFERRED TO FACT FMG ACCEPTED OAU COMMUNIQUE AT MONROVIA, WHILE REBELS DIDN'T AS EVIDENCE REFTEL INTRANSIGENCE.

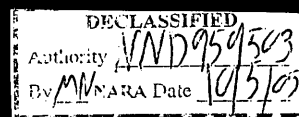
3. (STATE DEPARTMENT DENIAL. ONLY (DAILY TIMES) CARRIED MCCLOSKEY STATEMENT THAT EMBASSY PARIS HAD NOT BEEN INSTRUCTED TO APPROACH FRENCH REGARDING ARMS SUPPLY TO BIAFRA. HOWEVER, THEY HEADLINED STORY, "NEW PEACE MOVE BY U.S. GOVERNMENT ON NIGERIAN CRISIS".

4. (SWEDISH RED CROSS ATTACHED). THE (SUNDAY POST) REVIVED ATTACKS ON SWIDISH RED CROSS OVER ALLEGED "WAR SUPPLIES" TO REBELS, DESPITE SWIDISH EMBASSYS LENGTHY EXPLANATION THAT BOX FOUND BY FEDERAL TROOPS NEAR UMUHIA WAS METEOROLOGICAL EQUIPMENT. ARTICLE CLAIMS RED CROSS HAS "BETRAYED TRUST VESTED IN THEM BY FEDERAL GOVERNMENT" AND ENDS WITH PLEA "GOD SAVE US ALL FROM THESE EVIL ELEMENTS WORKING AMONG US, LIKE GREEN SNAKES IN THE GREEN GRASS."

MATHEWS

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 04209 122213Z

HEADQUARTERS:

COL. C.O. ROTIMI, QUARTERMASTER-GENERAL, ARMY
HEADQUARTERS, BECOMES COMMANDER, IBADAN GARRISON ORGANIZATION;
LT. COL. G.S. JALLO, COMMANDER, SECOND DIVISION, (REAR),
BECOMES ACTING GENERAL-OFFICER-COMMANDING, SECOND DIVISION
(MAIN), EFFECTIVE ON A DATE TO BE ANNOUNCED;
COL. I.D. BISSALA, MILITARY SECRETARY, SUPREME HEAD-
QUARTERS, WILL BE GENERAL-OFFICER-COMMANDING, FIRST DIVISION
(MAIN);
COL. M. SHUWA, GENERAL-OFFICER-COMMANDING, FIRST DIVISION
(MAIN), WILL BE MILITARY SECRETARY, SUPREME HEADQUARTERS.

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BY COMMISSIONER INFO ENAHORO ON RETURN FROM OVERSEAS TOUR.
(POST) HEADLINED STORY "THE MISLED NOW UNDERSTAND", WHICH
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DESPITE TEMPORARY SETBACKS AT OWERRI. NBC-TIV WENT STEP
FURTHER, AS DID REUTERS WIRE SERVICE SOTY IN SAYING ENAHORO
VIRTUALLY "RULED OUT POSSIBILITY OF FUTURE PEACE
NEGOTIATIONS WITH BIAFRA", AS "THERE NO REPEAT NOT IME FOR
TALING WITH SECESSIONIST AGAIN". ENAHORO REFERRED TO
FACT FMG ACCEPTED OAU COMMUNIQUE AT MONROVIA, WHILE
REBELS DIDN'T AS EVIDENCE REFTEL INTRANSIGENCE

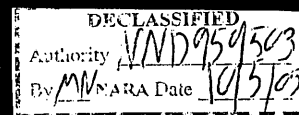
3. (STATE DEPARTMENT DENIAL. ONLY (DAILY TIMES) CARRIED MCCLOSKEY
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STORY, "NEW PEACE MOVE BY U.S. GOVERNMENT ON NIGERIAN CRISIS".

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ON SWIDISH RED CROSS OVER ALLEGED "WAR SUPPLIES" TO REBELS,
DESPITE SWIDISH EMBASSYS LENGHTY EXPLANATION THAT BOX
FOUND BY FEDERAL TROOPS NEAR UMUAHIA WAS METEOROLOGICAL
EQUIPMENT. ARTICLE CLAIMS RED CROSS HAS "BETRAYED TRUST
VESTED IN THEM BY FEDERAL GOVERNMENT" AND ENDS WITH PLEA "GOD
SAVE US ALL FROM THESE EVIL ELEMENTS WORKING AMONG US, LIKE
GREEN SNAKES IN THE GREEN GRASS."

MATHEWS

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
 Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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5-13-69*

SECRET 435

PAGE 01 LAGOS 04195 121714Z

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ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CIAE 00, SSO 00, CCO 00, NACE 00, DODE 00, USIE 00, /071 W
 ----- 128553

P R 121625Z MAY 69

FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6503

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

S E C R E T LAGOS 4195

LIMDIS/NOFORN EXCEPT UK

SUBJ: NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR: PEACE INITIATIVES

REF: LONDON 3563; LAGOS 4018

1. I TOLD ARIKPO THIS MORNING THAT UPON APPLYING FOR VISA AT EMBASSY LISBON ABOUT TWO WEEKS AGO C.C. MOJEKWU HAD SAID HE WISHED TO GO TO US FOR PEACE TALKS. I ASKED ARIKPO WHETHER HE COULD SHED ANY LIGHT ON THIS.

2. IN RESPONSE ARIKPO REVIEWED CHESHIRE-MBANEFO INITIATIVE ALREADY REPORTED. ONLY NEW POINT TO EMERGE FROM HIS ACCOUNT WAS THAT IN UNLIKELY EVENT ANYTHING CAME OF THIS INITIATIVE FMG WOULD INSIST THAT AGREEMENTS REACHED PRIVATELY WOULD HAVE TO BE REFERRED TO OAU CONCOM.

3. I THANKED ARIKPO FOR INFORMATION BUT POINTED OUT IT DID NOT EXPLAIN WHY MOJEKWU HAD SAID HE WANTED TO GO TO US FOR PEACE TALKS. ARIKPO THEN SAID THERE HAD BEEN ANOTHER INITIATIVE. WHEN F.O. SEGUN, PROVOST OF LAGOS ANGLICAN CATHEDRAL, VISITED US SOME TIME AGO HE HAD HAD CONTACT WITH SOME IBOS WHO HAD EXPRESSED INTEREST IN RECONCILIATION WITH FMG. FMG HAD ACCORDINGLY SENT DR. R.A.B. DIKKO, FEDERAL COMMISSIONER FOR MINES AND POWER, TO US ABOUT TZL WEEKS AGO TO TALK WITH IBOS. AS FAR AS ARIKPO KNEW, DIKKO MISSION HAD BEEN FRUITLESS AND ARIKPO THOUGHT HE HAD RETURNED TO LAGOS.

4. ARIKPO EXPRESSED VIEW THAT THESE INITIATIVES SHOWED THAT THERE ARE IBOS WHO WANT TO REACH SETTLEMENT WITH FMG.

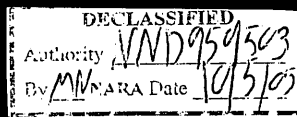
GP-3, MATTHEWS

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Geographic

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EA 11
EUR 10
NEA 8

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CIA
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AA/NESA 2

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Authority VMD 9503
By MW NARA Date 10/5/03

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 204

PAGE 01 ACCRA 01463 121358Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, UCF 05, SR 01, ORM 03, IO 13, SCS 04, SCA 01, UPW 04

AID 28, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, 158 W 127264

R 121220Z MAY 69
FM AMEMBASSY ACCRA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6194
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

S E C R E T ACCR 1463

SUBJ: NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR

REF: (A) STATE 73938; (B) ACCRA 1445 (NOTAL)

1. APPRECIATE REFTEL (A). GIVEN INITIATIVES ELSEWHERE AND NEED FOR COORDINATION WITH THEM, BELIEVE PRESENT INSTRUCTIONS MOST APPROPRIATE.
2. IN LIGHT REFTEL (A), HAVE ARRANGED CANCELLATION MAY 12 APPOINTMENT WITH AFRIFA. EXPECT TO SEE HIM SOMETIME DURING WEEK MAY 19 FOR GENERAL DISCUSSION BEFORE DEPARTING ACCRA. MAY 24 FOR WASHINGTON CONSULTATION, BUT WILL NOT RAISE NIGERIA UNLESS INSTRUCTED TO DO SO. MCELHINEY

Handwritten: Accra 1463
5-12-69

Handwritten signature/initials

(1)

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DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 959503
By MVA/ARA Date 10/5/00

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

073938

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TOSECRET
Classification

10 MAY 69 17 21Z

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73938

Origin	ACTION: Amembassy ACCRA IMMEDIATE
Info:	INFO : Amembassy ADDIS ABABA
	" KINSHASA
	" LAGOS
	" LONDON
	" MONROVIA
	" NIAMEY
	" YAOUNDE

Ref: (a) Accra 1442; (b) Accra 1429

Subj: Nigerian Civil war

1. In light staff work now in progress on GOG initiative reported ref (b), believe formal demarche with Afrifa this subject should be avoided.

2. Should Afrifa raise subject subsequently, you should indicate continuing USG interest in progress since your last discussion of any GOG initiative and state USG prepared support any reasonable African initiative, from whatever source, which promises hope of success in ending Nigerian conflict.

3. Para. 5 ref (b) answers Dept's query re Mbanefo's presence ~~in~~ in Accra.

4. Believe State 69521 should be considered FYI for time being, except for para. 2, which of course continues be USG position.

ROGERS

Drafted by AF/W:RPSmith:ba 5/9/69	Tel. Ext. 6402	Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: AF - C. Robert Moore
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Clearances:

FORM 8-65 DS-322

CONFIDENTIAL
Classification

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DECLASSIFIED
Authority VIND 954/503
By MM NARA Date 10/5/02

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 288

PAGE 01 ACCRA 01445 101100Z

16
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, IO 13, EUR 17, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04, RSR 01,

CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, UPW 01, UCF 05, /158 W
120223

P 100935Z MAY 69
FM AMEMBASSY ACCRA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6185

S E C R E T ACCRA 1445

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR: POSSIBLE PEACE INITIATIVES

REF: ACCRA 1442

APPOINTMENT WITH AFRIFA SCHEDULED FOR 1100 MONDAY MAY 12.
MCELHINEY

Accra 1445-
5-10-69

(1)

SECRET

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DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 959503
By MNA Date 10/5/03

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
XR POL 7 BIAFRA 072709

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

SECRET
Classification

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9 MAY 69 00 22z
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Origin	ACTION: Amembassy	ACCRA	PRIORITY
Info:	INFO: Amembassy	ADDIS ABABA	
	"	KINSHASA	
	"	LAGOS	
	"	LONDON	
	"	MONROVIA	
	"	NIAMEY	
	"	YAOUNDE	

NOFORN

FOR AMBASSADOR

SUBJECT: Nigerian Civil War: Possible Peace Initiatives

REF: a) Accra 1275; b) Accra 1410 (NOTAL)

1. Ref (b) report that Biafran Chief Justice Mbanefo is in Accra on church business may offer useful peg for followup discussion with Afrifa. We recognize other NLC members may not share Afrifa's zeal but believe he should not be discouraged.

At early appropriate occasion
2/ you should therefore attempt draw Afrifa out on any developments subsequent to those reported ref (a) and ask whether Mbanefo's presence in Accra indicates anything other than reasons contained ref (b).

3. Other pertinent messages this subject being repeated to Accra in septels.

END

ROGERS:

Drafted by:	AF/W:RPSmith:emb	5/8/69	Tel. Ext.	6402	Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:	F - C. Robert Moore
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Clearances:
AF/W - Mr: Melbourne

SECRET
Classification

FORM 8-65 DS-322

0923

DECLASSIFIED
Authority: VMD 954563
By: MVA Date: 10/5/03



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

31

Pol 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria

SECRET 314.

PAGE 01 LONDON 03563 081348Z.

52
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CIAE 00, SSO 00, 1071 W

104806

R 081317Z MAY 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 313
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

S E C R E T LONDON 3563

LIMDIS/NOFORN

SUB: POSSIBLE BIAFRAN PEACE MOVE

REF: LAGOS 4018.

1. ACCOUNT WE HAVE RECEIVED FROM FONOFF OF MBANEFO/MOJEKWU INITIATIVE THROUGH GROUP CAPT. CHESHIRE AGREES IN ALL ESSENTIALS WITH INFO CONTAINED REFTEL. ONLY DIFFERENCE IS OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT THERE WAS NO DIRECT FONOFF CONTACT WITH MOJEKWU AND THAT ALL BRITISH INFO COMES THROUGH CHESHIRE.

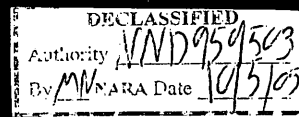
2. AS CHESHIRE DEFINED BIAFRAN POSITION TO FONOFF ON BASIS HIS CONTACTS WITH MBANEFO AND MOJEKWU, BIAFRANS WERE (A) INTERESTED IN SECRET TALKS WITH FMG WHICH "MIGHT BE AIMED IN FIRST INSTANCE AT CEASE-FIRE AND THEN AT POLITICAL SETTLEMENT", AND (B) ALTHOUGH BIAFRANS WOULD NOT NEGOTIATE "AS DEFEATED PARTY", THEY WOULD ACCEPT "SOME FORM OF (NIGERIAN) UNITY" AS PART OF EVENTUAL SOLUTION.

3. THESE BIAFRAN STATEMENTS COULD IMPLY WILLINGNESS TO MAKE REAL CONCESSIONS OR COULD BE NOTHING BUT VERBAL FENCING. THIS IS WHY BRITISH PASSED WORD TO LOCAL BIAFRAN REPI THAT THEY HOPED MOJEKWU WOULD RETURN TO LONDON FROM PARIS SO THAT FOLEY, OR OTHER BRITISH OFFICIAL, COULD DISCUSS SUBJECT WITH HIM AND CLARIFY BIAFRAN INTENTIONS. FACT THAT MOJEKWU SEEMS TO HAVE IGNORED THIS INVITATION AND GONE TO LISBON HAS MADE BRITISH SKEPTICAL ABOUT SINCERITY OF HIS INITIATIVE, ALTHOUGH THEY ARE NOT QUITE READY TO WRITE IT OFF. ANNENBERG

SECRET

*London - 3563
5-8-69*

0924



L I M D I S
I N C O M I N G

TOP SECRET

Screened UBA

POST London

SERIAL 5563

(Time Received)

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DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT

Secretariat

S/S-S 1
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S/S-Screener (3)
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Task Force

Principals and
"S" Area

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Geographic

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EUR 10
NEA 8

Functional

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USIA 4
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AA/NESA 2

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File

Burned

2/10/69

0925

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 959503
By MM/ARA Date 10/5/03

37



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 777

PAGE 01 ACCRA 01442 091811Z

54
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04, UPW 01, UCF 05,
IO 13, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, HI 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00,
NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, RSR 01,
/146 W

114815

O R 091720Z MAY 69
FM AMEMBASSY ACCRA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6182
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY

S E C R E T ACCRA 1442

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR: POSSIBLE PEACE INITIATIVES

REF: STATE 72709- *Pol 27-14 B*

1. APPARENTLY STAFF WORK IN PROGRESS ON GOG INITIATIVE CON-
SISTENT WITH AFRIFA'S VIEWS EXPRESSED TO ME EARLIER. SEE PARA 4
ACCRA 1429, WHICH CROSSED REFTEL.

2. RE FURTHER CONVERSATION WITH AFRIFA, IF I NOW REVERT TO
SUBJECT HE WILL WANT TO KNOW USG ATTITUDE ON POSSIBLE PEACE
INITIATIVES. IN LIGHT AMBASSADOR BROWN'S APPROACH TO TUBMAN
AND LATTER'S RESPONSE, DOES DEPARTMENT WANT ME TO IMPLY OR
EXPLICITLY STATE TO AFRIFA THAT USG DOES NOT DISCOURAGE
INITIATIVE HE HAS IN MIND? HOW MUCH OF FIRST THREE PARAS
STATE 69521 (ELIMINATING OF COURSE ALL REFERENCE TO TUBMAN
AND HOUPHOUET) COULD I USE?

3. ATTEMPTING ARRANGE APPOINTMENT WITH AFRIFA FOR MAY 12
OR 13. MCELHINEY

SECRET

27

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*Accra 1442
5-9-69*

0926

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 959/503
By MNA Date 10/5/03

37



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

POL 3 OAU

CONFIDENTIAL 026

PAGE 01 ACCRA 01429 091014Z

21
ACTION AF: 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, UCF 05, RSR 01, AID 28, IO 13, SCS 04, SCA 01, CIAE 00,
DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02,
SS 20, USIA 12, SR 01, ORM 03, UPW 01, /158 W

111532

R 081634Z MAY 69
FM AMEMBASSY ACCRA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6172
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

CONFIDENTIAL ACCRA 1429

SUBJECT: AFTERMATH OF CONCOM MEETING

REF: (A) STATE 69426 (B) ACCRA 1410

12) 0. ANTWI, DIRECTOR OF AFRICA DIVISION, MINEXTAFF, WHO
MEMBER OF GHANA DELEGATION AT MONROVIA, COMMENTED THAT
BIAFRANS RESENTED DIALLO TELLIS AS EMBODIMENT OF WHAT THEY
SEE AS CONSISTENT AND EXTREME RIGIDITY OF OAU POSITION OF
NIGERIAN CRISIS. ADDED THAT TELLIS'S PERSONAL APPROACH
OFTEN COMPOUNDS DIFFICULTY OF SITUATIONS SUCH AS THIS, SINCE
HE WAS CHOSE BY OAU TO SERVE AS ADMINISTRATOR BUT INSISTS
ON PLAYING ROLE OF UTHANT.

2. ANTWI HAD NO INSIDE INFORMATION ON REPORTED ENCOUNTER
BETWEEN BIAFRANS AND FMG DELEGATES. STATED THAT GHANA
DELEGATIONS CONSIDERED MBANEFO MORE CONCILIATORY AND
FLEXIBLE THAN COUNTERPARTS ON FMG DELEGATION. HE WAS AWARE
MOJEKWU PLAYED INFLUENTIAL ROLE, BUT HE HAD NO REASON BE-
LIEVE ANYONE BUT MBANEFO CALLED SHOTS FOR BIAFRAN DELEGATION.

CONFIDENTIAL

(2)

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DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 959503
By MVA Date 10/5/05

Monrovia
1429
5-8-69



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ACCRA 01429 091014Z

3. STRESSED THAT FMG INSISTENCE ON ACCEPTANCE OF TERM UNITED NIGERIA IS NEITHER NEW NOR SURPRISING. NOTED THAT WHILE LAGOS HAS FREQUENTLY SPOKEN OF TALKS "WITHOUT PRE-CONDITIONS", THEY HAVE CONSISTENTLY MADE IT CLEAR THAT NIGERIA'S ONENESS, WHETHER EXPRESSED IN TERMS OF "ONE NIGERIAN" OR "UNITED NIGERIA" WAS INALTERABLE STARTING POINT FOR ANY TALKS. ANTWI NOTED THAT MAJORITY OF DELEGATIONS TRIED TO EN- COURAGE COMMENCEMENT OF TALKS WITHOUT THIS PRECONDITION, BUT MOBUTU AND AHIDUO STOOD FIRM AGAINST ANY WATERING DOWN OF PRINCIPLE.

4. ANTWI'S COMMENTS STRONGLY IMPLIED GHANAIAN DELEGATION RE- TURNED DISAPPOINTED WITH REFUSAL OF CONCOM AND FMG TO TAKE MORE FLEXIBLE APPROACH ON TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR GETTING TALKS STARTED. ADDED THAT MINEXTAF RECOMMENDATION NOW

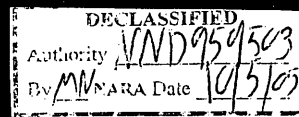
UNDER CONSIDERATION WHICH WOULD SEEK APPROVAL OF OAU HEADS OF STATE FOR NEW MANDATE FOR CONCOM. NEW MANDATE, IF GRANTED, WOULD END CONCOM'S PRESENT ROLE AS LITTLE MORE THAN ADVISORY BODY TO FMG AND EMPOWER IT INSTEAD TO "ARBI- TRATE" DIRECTLY BETWEEN WARRING PARTIES WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS. ANTWI EXPECTED AHIDUO AND MOBUTU WOULD BOTH OPPOSE SUCH AN APPROACH. WAS HOPEFUL THAT, IF NLC APPROVED, NEW MANDATE COULD BE APPROVED IN PRINCIPLE BY HEADS OF STATE THROUGH SERIES OF CONSULTATIONS BEFORE NEW OAU SUMMIT IN SEPTEMBER. (COMMENT: SUCH MINISTRY RECOMMENDATIONS WOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH AFRIFA'S VIEWS ON NIGERIA. SEE ACCRA 1273.)

5. ANTWI CONFIRMED THAT MBANEFO NOW VISITING GHANA (REF B) STRICTLY ON CHURCH BUSINESS AND HAS SHOWN NO INTEREST IN TALKS. BUT ADDED THAT IF HE SOUGHT CHANCE TO DISCUSS NIGERIAN QUESTION WHILE HERE, GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT REBUFF HIM.

MCELHINEY

CONFIDENTIAL

0928





POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

4018
5-7-69

SECRET 609

PAGE 01 LAGOS 04018 071742Z

51
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, DODE 00, CIAE 00, USIE 00, /071 W
098755

P 071625Z MAY 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6412
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

SECRET LAGOS 4018

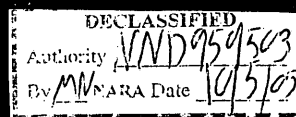
LIMDIS/NOFORN

SUBJECT: POSSIBLE BIAFRAN PEACE MOVE

1. BRITISH HIGH COMMISSION HERE HAS, IN STRICT CONFIDENCE, SHOWN US EXCHANGE OF TELEGRAMS WITH LONDON CONCERNING POSSIBLE BIAFRAN PEACE INITIATIVE.
2. AFTER MONROVIA OAU MEETING, GROUP CAPTAIN CHESHIRE (BRITISH PHILANTHROPIST) MET IN LIBREVILLE WITH CHIEF BIAFRAN DELEGATE MBANEFO. LATTER AGREED THAT, IF BIAFRANS COULD BE QTE SATISFIED UNQTE WITH FMG OFFERS OF INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS FOR IBOS, THEY WOULD AGREE TO MEETING QTE ON THE BASIS OF SOME FORM OF NIGERIAN UNITY UNQTE. MBANEFO SUBSEQUENTLY WROTE CHESHIRE THAT THIS FORMULATION RECEIVED A QTE NOT UNFAVORABLE UNQTE REACTION ON BIAFRA. MBANEFO'S LETTER TO CHESHIRE WAS DELIVERED IN LONDON BY BIAFRAN COMMISSIONER INTERNAL AFFAIRS C. C. MOJEKWU.
3. IN COURSE OF HIS STAY IN LONDON, MOJEKWU MET WITH FOLEY OF FCO, AND SAID HE WOULD BE WILLING TO MEET MALCOLM MACDONALD IN ACCRA (OR ELSEWHERE) WITH MACDONALD TO ACT AS QTE CHAIRMAN UNQTE OF SECRET MEETING BETWEEN REBELS AND FEDERALS. THERE WAS AN INTIMATION THAT THE UK WOULD IN SOME WAY ACT AS MEDIATOR OR SUPPLIER OF GOOD OFFICES. MBANEFO'S LETTER SUGGESTED THAT SIR KASHIM IBRAHIM AND AWOLOWO REPRESENT THE NORTH AND WEST OF NIGERIA, RESPECTIVELY.
4. FOLEY SUBSEQUENTLY INFORMED FMG INFORMATION COMMISSIONER

SECRET

0929





Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET

PAGE 02 LAGOS 04018 071742Z

ENAHORO OF SCENARIO UP TO THAT POINT. ENAHORO RELATIVELY NONCOMMITTAL AND SUGGESTED FOLEY CONTACT ARIKPO. WHEN ARIKPO SAW FOLEY, AFTER HIS VISIT TO PARIS, HE TOOK THE LINE THAT BIAFRANS PRIMARILY INTERESTED IN DISCREDITING OAU, WHERE THEY HAD SUFFERED PUBLIC SETBACK. THEY NOW ALSO WANT TO BE SEEN AS WILLING TO INITIATE TALKS. HOWEVER, HE DID NOT RPT NOT MINIMIZE POTENTIAL IMPORTANCE BIAFRAN MOVE, AGREED ON NEED FOR ABSOLUTE SECRECY, AND SAID HE WOULD TAKE COPIES OF MBANEFO LETTER TO GOWON ON HIS RETURN. ARIKPO MADE POINT HE TELLING QTE ONLY GOWON AND FEW OTHER CLOSE GOWON ADVISERS UNQTE WHAT BEING PROPOSED. ARIKPO CAUTIONED THE BRITISH THAT FMG STILL FAVORS OAU AS SOLE OUTSIDE AGENCY IN PEACE-MAKING EFFORTS.

5. BRITISH TAKE VIEW THAT ACCRA QTE HOPELESS UNQTE SITE FOR ANY SECRET MEETING AND ARE CHARY OF PARTICIPATING DIRECTLY (FOR EXAMPLE, MACDONALD TOO VISIBLE A PERSONALITY EVEN IN LONDON). THEY THINK IT CONCEIVABLE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT COULD BE USEFUL IN SERVICING TALKS IN LONDON BUT SHOULD NOT BE INVOLVED IN SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES. ON MAY 6, FCO AND HIGH COMMISSION AGREED BRITISH HERE WOULD TAKE NO ACTION, BUT WOULD LET ARIKPO QTE PLAY OUT HIS HAND UNQTE AS HE SAW FIT.

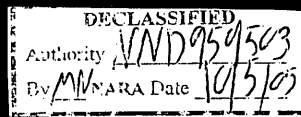
6. COMMENT: BRITISH THINK BIAFRAN MOVE IS PROBABLY COMBINATION OF EFFORT TO UNDERCUT THE OAU (WHICH THEY HAVE STRONGLY CONDEMNED RECENTLY) AND A GENUINE DESIRE TO INITIATE TALKS IN A MORE FAVORABLE SETTING. IN THIS CONNECTION, MOJEKWU TOLD FOLEY CEASE-FIRE SHOULD BE FIRST ITEM OF BUSINESS IN ANY TALKS, BUT THIS NOT RPT NOT EXPLICITLY MADE AN ESSENTIAL PRECONDITION FOR SUCH TALKS. WE THINK MOJEKWU INVOLVEMENT LENDS CREDENCE TO IDEA THAT BIAFRANS GENUINELY DESIRE TALKS, BUT FACT HE RATHER OPENLY SAYING IN LISBON HE PLANS CONTACT FEDERALS IN UNITED STATES CONCERNING PEACE TALKS TENDS TO DISCOUNT SERIOUSNESS OF APPROACH HE MADE TO FOLEY.

7. BRITISH REQUESTED WE STRICTLY PROTECT ABOVE INFO.

GP-1. MATHEWS

SECRET

0930



L I M D I S
I N C O M I N G

TOP SECRET _____
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S/S-O <u>1</u>	ARA <u>9</u>	
S/S-Screener <u>3</u>	EA <u>11</u>	AID/EXSEC <u>3</u>
S/S-EX _____	EUR <u>10</u>	AA/AFR <u>2</u>
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MilRep _____	<u>Functional</u>	AA/NESA <u>2</u>
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DECLASSIFIED
Authority VMD 9501503
By M/MARA Date 10/5/03



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 175

PAGE 01 LAGOS 04003 071303Z

54
ACTION: AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, UCF 05, CPR 02, VO 02, CIAE 00, FBI 01, INS 03,

NSAE 00, SCA 01, RSC 01, RSR 01, /065 W

097063

P 071214Z MAY 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO AMEMBASSY LISBON PRIORITY
333SECSTATE WASHDC 6408

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 4003

SUBJECT: C. C. MOJEKWU

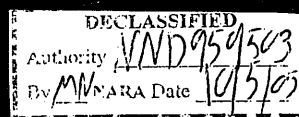
REF: LISBON 667; STATE 070697 AND 070966

1. EMB AGREES WITH DEPT VISA SHOULD BE ISSUED GIVEN
STATED PURPOSE AND THAT ANY REFERENCES TO PEACE TALKS
SHOULD BE CLASSIFIED.

2. IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT THAT ANY COMMUNICATIONS
RELATIVE TO VISAS FOR BIAFRANS SHOULD BE CLASSIFIED
AT LEAST LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SINCE THIS QUESTION OF
EXTREME SENSITIVITY WITH FMG. DEPT MAY WISH TO ISSUE
CIRCULAR INSTRUCTION TO THIS EFFECT TO PREVENT
DEVELOPMENT OF EMBARRASSING SITUATIONS.
GP-3 MATHEWS

CONFIDENTIAL

0932



37



POL 2714 BIAFRA- NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 504

PAGE 01 MONROV 02071 061641Z

54
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CIAE 00, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, /071 W
090779

O P 061540Z MAY 69
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6677
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

S E C R E T MONROVIA 2071

SUBJECT: NIGERIA: PEACE INITIATIVES

LIMDIS

REFERENCE: STATE 069521 *Pol 2714 Biafra*

1. MET WITH PRESIDENT TUBMAN THIS MORNING AND PRESENTED CASE FOR A PEACE INITIATIVE BY TUBMAN AND HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY AS PROPOSED REFTEL. COVERED SUBSTANCE FIRST FOUR PARAGRAPHS, EXCEPT FOR REFERENCE TO DISCUSSION WITH HOUPHOUET, IN SOME DETAIL.

2. TUBMAN LISTENED ATTENTIVELY AND WHEN I CONCLUDED REMARKED THAT HE WOULD DO ANYTHING IF HE THOUGHT IT WOULD HELP TO RESTORE PEACE. SAID HE WOULD LIKE TO HAVE OUR SUGGESTIONS TO WHICH I HAD REFERRED AND STUDY THEM. I HAD PREPARED A VERSION OF THEM ON PLAIN PAPER

WHICH I PRESENTED TO HIM WITH COPY TO SECSTATE. TUBMAN READ THEM IN MY PRESENCE AND SAID HE FELT THERE WERE SOME GOOD SUGGESTIONS WHICH MIGHT BE EFFECTIVE. HE WOULD LIKE, HE SAID, TO DISCUSS THEM FURTHER WITH SECSTATE.

3. TUBMAN THEN DISCLOSED THAT WHEN VICE PRESIDENT TOLBERT RETURNED FROM A BAPTIST MEETING IN LAGOS HE BROUGHT MESSAGE FROM GENERAL GOWON SAYING LATTER WOULD LIKE TO COME VISIT TUBMAN. PRESIDENT ADDED THAT HE WILL DISCUSS THE POSSIBILITY OF A FURTHER INITIATIVE WITH GOWON AND, DEPENDING ON GOWON'S REACTION, WOULD SEND

SECRET

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*Monrovia 2071
5-6-69*

0933

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 954503
By MNA Date 10/5/00



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET

PAGE 02 MONROV 02071 061641Z

SOMEONE TO SEE HOUPHOUET ON LATTER'S RETURN FROM PARIS.

4. HE WILL ASK GOWON TO VISIT MONROVIA BETWEEN FOURTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH MAY.

5. TUBMAN INDICATED HE THOUGHT HE MIGHT BE ABLE TO ENLIST HOUPHOUET'S COOPERATION PROVIDED HE COULD RECEIVE SOME ENCOURAGEMENT FROM GOWON. AS TO THE ULTIMATE SUCCESS OF A JOINT INITIATIVE HE WOULD NOT SPECULATE OTHER THEN TO SAY THAT BOTH SIDES ARE SO STUBBORN IT IS HARD TO GET ANYWHERE WITH THEM. HE DID HOWEVER SHOW A WILLINGNESS TO MAKE A REAL EFFORT, BEGINNING WITH CONVERSATIONS WITH GOWON.

6. COMMENT: ONE MAJOR OBSTACLE TO AN INITIATIVE AT THIS TIME IS TUBMAN'S PLAN TO DEPART LIBERIA MAY 23 BY SHIP FOR ENGLAND FOR MEDICAL EXAMINATIONS AND REST. WHETHER HE WOULD BE WILLING POSTPONE THIS TRIP IN THE EVENT HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH GOWON GIVE HIM SOME HOPE REMAINS TO BE SEEN. HE STILL WOULD HAVE SHORT TIME AFTER GOWON VISIT DURING WHICH HE COULD COMMUNICATE WITH HOUPHOUET AND EXPLORE POSSIBILITIES LATTER'S COOPERATION. BROWN

SECRET
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DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 954503
By	MNARA Date 10/5/05

L I M D I S
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TOP SECRET

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POST

MONROVIA

SERIAL

2071

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DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT 108

Secretariat

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Task Force

Principals and
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Geographic

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EUR 10
NEA 8

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USIA 4 P
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Other

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AA/EA 3
AA/NESA 2

TRSY 6
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0935

DECLASSIFIED
Authority *VND954503*
By *MMH* Date *10/5/03*



POL 27-14 BIAFRA NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 656

PAGE 01 LAGOS 03982 061804Z

51
ACTION SS 70

INFO OCT 01, CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, DODE 00, CIAE 00, USIE 00, /071 W
091447

P 061615Z MAY 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6400
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AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY PARIS

SECRET LAGOS 3982

LIMDIS

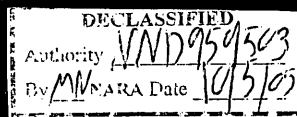
SUBJEC: NIGERIA: PEACE INITIATIVES

REF: STATE 69521, LONDON 3475 *Pol 27 Biafra Nigeria*

1. EMBASSY SHARES VIEW IN DEPTTEL THAT IT HIGHLY UNLIKELY FURTHER PUBLICIZED EFFORT BY CONCOM OR OAU HEADS OF STATE AT THIS TIME WOULD BRING FMG AND REBELS TO CONFERENCE TABLE.
 2. EMBASSY ALSO AGREES WITH ANALYSES FMG AND REBEL POSITIONS RE TALKS CONTAINED IN PARAGRAPHS ONE AND TWO OF LONDON REFTTEL.
 3. EMBASSY THINKS, HOWEVER, THAT ALTERNATIVES CONFRONTING WOULD-BE MEDIATORS MAY NOT BE QUITE AS STARK AS PRESENTED IN PARAGRAPH THREE LONDON REFTTEL. FMG INSISTENCE ON INCLUSION QTE UNITED NIGERIA UNQTE IN CONCOM STATEMENT WAS PROBABLY RELATED MORE TO ENSURING THAT CONCOM HOLD TO ESTABLISHED OAU POSITION ON TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY THAN TO FORCING REBELS TO ACCEPT QTE UNITED NIGERIA UNQTE AS PRE CONDITION FOR TALKS. HENCE, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE BETTER IF TUBMAN DID NOT REFER TO AGREEMENT ON TERM QTE UNITED NIGERIA UNQTE AS APPARENT PRE CONDITION AS SUGGESTED IN POINT H RPT H OF PARAGRAPH 6 DEPTTEL.
- GP-3.
MATHEWS

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By MM NARA Date 10/5/02



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

3933
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CONFIDENTIAL 006

PAGE 01 LAGOS 03933 051912Z

46

ACTION AF 18

INFO: OCT 01, EUR 17, UCF 05, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, AID 28, CIAE 00,

DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02,

SS: 20, USIA 12, UPW 01, IO 13, RSR 01, /158 W

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R 051631Z MAY 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6372
INFO AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 3933

SUBJ: AFTERMATH MONROVIA CONCOM MEETING

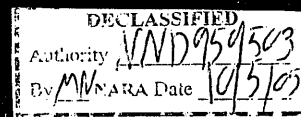
REF: STATE 069426; LAGOS 3747 AND 3890

1. HEAD OF AFRICAN DIVISION, MINEXTAFF, ADENIJI, IN FURTHER CONVERSATION REGARDING MONROVIA MEETING, TOLD US TODAY THAT BIAFRANS PROBABLY IRKED WITH DIALLO-TELLI ROLE SIMPLY BECAUSE HE ACCURATELY REFLECTED OAU CONCOM POSITION. ADENIJI SAID TELLI ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS REMINDED BIAFRANS THAT CONCOM HAD NO AUTHORITY TO GO BEYOND KINSHASA RESOLUTION, WHICH MEANT IN EFFECT IT ONLY AUTHORIZED TO DISCUSS PROBLEM IN CONTEXT OF ONE NIGERIA AND NOT RPT NOT TWO SEPARATE POLITICAL ENTITIES. THIS WAS "A CORRECT BUT UNWELCOME ATTITUDE", TO BIAFRANS. ADENIJI POINTED OUT THAT TELLI PERSONALLY WELL-KNOWN TO SOME OF BIAFRAN DELEGATION AND SURMISED THERE VERY LIKELY PERSONALITY CLASH IN ADDITION TELLI'S STRICT INTERPRETATION OF THE KINSHASA RESOLUTION. IN THIS CONNECTION, ADENIJI NOTED SEVERAL TIMES THAT CONCOM HAD CONSISTENTLY MAINTAINED ORIGINAL POSITION ON NIGERIAN UNITY.

CONFIDENTIAL

48

0938





Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LAGOS 03933 051912Z

2. MEETING BETWEEN FMG AND BIAFRAN DELEGATIONS AT TUBMAN'S (LAGOS 3747) WAS NOT ATTENDED BY FULL DELEGATION FROM EITHER SIDE. ADENIJI SAID THAT MBANEFO DID NOT ATTEND WHAT TUBMAN INTENDED TO BE SOCIAL GET-TO-GETHER DESIGNED TO IMPROVE PERSONAL RELATIONS BETWEEN DELS, AND NO RPT NO SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION EXPECTED BY TUBMAN. IN ANY CASE, DESPITE FACT MEMBERS BOTH DELEGATIONS MET ON SOCIAL BASIS, MEETING UNSUCCESSFUL IN EASING STIFF FORMALITY OF MONROVIA'S TALKS.

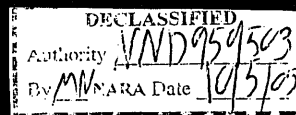
3. ADENIJI DEFINITELY OF OPINION THAT MBANEFO PERSONALLY MORE WILLING COMPROMISE, BUT HARDLINERS LED BY MOJEKWU EFFECTIVELY RAN THE DELEGATION.

4. IN COURSE GENERAL DISCUSSION OF POSITIONS TAKEN BY BOTH SIDES, ADENIJI SAID TERM "UNITED NIGERIA" ADOPTED FOR TWO REASONS: FIRST, BECAUSE "SOME MEMBERS" OF CONCOM THOUGHT THAT DISCUSSION OF "FEDERAL NIGERIA" (WHICH WAS FMG ORIGINAL PROPOSAL) WAS INADMISSIBLE AS INDICATING OAU CONCERNED WITH INTERNAL POLITICAL ARRANGEMENTS OF MEMBER NATION. SECONDLY, AFTER CONSIDERATION, FMG DECIDED DROPPING WORD "FEDERAL" WOULD MAKE IT EASIER FOR BIAFRANS TO TALK ABOUT IBO FUTURE IN NIGERIA, EVEN INCLUDING "SOME OF THEIR IDEAS ABOUT CONFEDERATION". ACCORDING TO ADENIJI, REGARDING FMG INSISTENCE ON TER "UNITED NIGERIA", ADENIJI DRILY REMARKED "AFTER ALL, THIS IS WHAT THE WHOLE WAR IS ABOUT". ADENIJI MADE FURTHER POINT THAT IT MADE NO DIFFERENCE WHETHER COMMUNIQUE SPOKE OF "TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF NIGERIA", "ONE NIGERIA", OR "UNITED NIGERIA", THE NET PRACTICAL RESULT WAS THE SAME -- DISCUSSION OF A PROBLEM IN TERMS OF ONE POLITICAL ENTITY AND NOT TWO. ADENIJI INTIMATED THAT CONCOM MEMBERS THOUGHT SOME SUCH PHRASE HAD TO BE PART OF CONCOM COMMUNIQUE AS THIS CONSISTENT WITH ALL PREVIOUS DECLARATIONS. HE DID NOT RPT NOT INDICATE WHETHER OR NOT CONCOM HAD CONSIDERED OMITTING PASSAGE IN HOPE OF AVOIDING ARGUMENT WHILE GETTING SUBSTITUTIVE TALKS UNDER WAY. (COMMENT: IN VIEW OF PAST OAU PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND ADENIJI'S ACCOUNT, WE DOUBT FMG HAD TO PUSH FOR THIS PHRASE.)

5. ADENIJI DISPASSIONATE? MYEERRED TO PASSAGE OF CONCOM COMMUNIQUE WHICH RECORDED FACT FMG AGREED WITH COMMUNIQUE AND REBELS DID NOT AS "VINDICATION" OF FEDERAL POSITION. HE REPEATED HIS EARLIER STATEMENTS (LAGOS 3747) THAT REBELS

CONFIDENTIAL

0939





Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 LAGOS 03933 051912Z

APPARENTLY HAD NO RPT NO AUTHORITY TO NEGOTIATE ANY ISSUE EXCEPT CEASE-FIRE; THAT SO FAR AS FMG KNEW THERE LITTLE CHANCE OF FURTHER OAU PEACEKEEPING PLANS (HE NOTED HEADS OF STATE MEETING NOT DUE UNTIL SEPTEMBER); AND REAFFIRMED PERSONAL VIEW NEGOTIATIONS UNLIKELY WITHOUT CHANGE IN BIAFRAN LEADERSHIP. ONLY ALTERNATIVE LEFT FMG WAS TO PRESS ON WITH MILITARY ACTION TO END SECESSION.

6. REGARDING FMG WILLINGNESS ENGAGE IN TALKS WITH BIAFRANS WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS (PARA ONE D STATE 069426), ADENIJI VOLUNTEERED COMMENT THAT BIAFRANS TRYING TO GIVE IMPRESSION THIS MEANT ANY SUBJECT WHATSOEVER (AND IN PARTICULAR CEASE-FIRE) COULD BE RAISED AT MEETING. BOTH CONCOM AND FMG, ACCORDING TO ADENIJI, HAVE ALWAYS INTERPRETED THIS TO MEAN TALKS WITHIN THE LANGUAGE OF THE ORIGINAL OAU KINSHASA RESOLUTION, WHICH REFERRED EXPLICITLY TO NEED FOR RESPECTING TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF MEMBER STATES. HE ALSO REFERRED TO COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AFTER NOVEMBER, 1967 MEETING IN LAGOS WHICH STATED "OAU CONCOM AGREED THAT AS BASIS FOR RETURN TO PEACE AND NORMAL CONDITIONS IN NIGERIA THE SECESSIONISTS SHOULD RENOUNCE SECESSION AND ACCEPT PRESENT ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF FEDERATION OF NIGERIA, AS LINED DOWN BY FMG IN DECREE NO. 14 OF 1967".

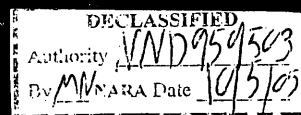
7. COMMENT. VIEWED IN LIGHT OF OAU CONCOM COMMUNIQUE AFTER LAGOS MEETING, FMG HAVE SHOWN PERCEPTIBLE "GIVE" IN DELETING SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO RENUNCIATION OF SECESSION AND RIGID ACCEPTANCE TWELVE-STATE STRUCTURE. AT THAT TIME FMG IN FAR LESS FAVORABLE MILITARY POSITION THAN AT PRESENT.

GP-3

MATHEWS

CONFIDENTIAL

0940





POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 933

PAGE 01 LAGOS 03890 031448Z

43
ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, IO 13, UCF 05, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07,
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SCA 01, AID 28, RSR 01, /153 W

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R 031335Z MAY 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6345
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 3890

SUBJECT: AFTERMATH MONROVIA COCOM MEETING

REF STATE 069426

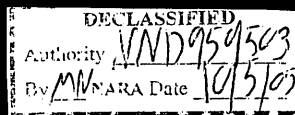
1. OJUKWU SPEECH AT OWERRI SHEDS SOME FURTHER LIGHT ON
BIAFRAN ATTITUDE TO MONROVIA MEETING (LAGOS 3889).

2. EMBASSY OFFICER SEEING ADENIJI HEAD OF AFRICA DIVISION
MINISTRY EXTAFF TONIGHT. ADENIJI MEMBER FMG DELEGATION TO
MONROVIA MEETING. WE WILL ENDEAVOR ELICIT FURTHER INFO
POINTS RAISED REFTEL.
GP-3.
MATHEWS

CONFIDENTIAL

27

0941



66



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

4-29-69 3737

CONFIDENTIAL 582

PAGE 01 LAGOS 03727 291433Z

51

ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 17, UCF 05, IO 13, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SC 01,

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P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, 158 W

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R 291140Z APR 69

FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6262

INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY NIAMEY

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

CINCSRIKE/CINCMCAFSA

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 3727

SUBJECT: CONCOM CONFERENCE, MONROVIA.

REF: MONROVIA 1851 *Pol 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA*

1. BRITISH MESSAGES FROM MONROVIA WHICH WE HAVE SEEN
BELATEDLY HERE TEND TO SUPPORT PARA 7 OF REFTEL
(EXCLUDING DEATH RAY).

2. UK AMBASSADOR TOLD BY LIBERIAN ASSISTANT
SECRETARY OF STATE THAT FOUR OF BIAFRAN DELEGATES
INCLUDING MBANEFO PREPARED COME TO TERMS BUT WERE
VETOED BY MOJEKWU, WHO APPEARED TO BE REAL LEADER OF
DELEGATION.

3. AMBASSADOR TOLD BY NIGERIAN COLLEAGUE THAT FEDERAL
KNEW THERE WOULD BE NO SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS AS SOON AS THEY

CONFIDENTIAL

25

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0942

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By	MM NARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LAGOS 03727 291433Z

SAW MOJEKWU.

4. MOJEKWU IS BIAFRAN COMMISSIONER INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND
1968 EXCHANGE VISITOR TO U.S. A 1968 BRITISH BIOGRAPHIC
SKETCH DESCRIBES HIM AS QTE BY NO MEANS DEEPLY COMMITTED TO
SECESSION UNQTE.

GP-1. MATHEWS.

CONFIDENTIAL

25

0943

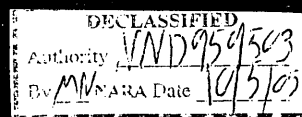
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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/03

ACTION			DEPARTMENT OF STATE			POL 27-14 BIAFRA- NIGERIA XR POL 3 OAU FOR RM USE ONLY		
RM/R	REP	AF	AIRGRAM A-192 UNCLASSIFIED HANDLING INDICATOR			TO : Department of State DEPT. PASS : Accra, Addis Ababa, Kinshasa, London, Monrovia, Niamey, Ottawa, Paris, Stockholm, Yaounde, U. S. Mission Geneva, U. S. Mission USUN-New York, Ibadan, Kaduna, Lagos (6) FROM : AmEmbassy Lagos DATE: April 26, 1969 SUBJECT : FMG Guarantees to Ibos at Monrovia at OAU Consultative Committee Meeting REF : Lagos 3584 of April 24, 1969; Lagos 12558 of September 11, 1968 Transmitted as an enclosure to this airgram is a Nigerian Press Release issued April 23, 1969 which contains (a) a statement of the Nigerian Delegation to the OAU ConCom Conference on April 18 at Monrovia; and (b) a press statement by FMG Delegation Leader Femi Okunnu in Lagos on April 22. The proposals for guarantees for people in areas still held by the rebels are a verbatim repetition of proposals initially made by the FMG on September 10, 1968 after the OAU ConCom meeting in Addis Ababa. The only change is to increase the number of Ibos in territory under Federal control from two million (last September) to the present claim of four million. In Okunnu's statement after the Monrovia Conference, he notes that that FMG accepted the Monrovia declaration and that the rebels rejected it. Enclosure Federal Ministry of Information - Press Release April 23, 1969 MATHEWS		
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FEDERAL MINISTRY OF INFORMATION - PRESS RELEASE
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No.F.432

GUARANTEE PROPOSALS FOR PEOPLE STILL HELD
IN REBEL AREAS

The Nigerian delegation to the recent conference of the O.A.U. Consultative Commission in Monrovia has assured the Ibos of the East Central State that they would enjoy full participation in the Federal Government on the same basis as people from other States in the executive, administrative, military, police, judicial and other aspects of government.

The basic solution to the crisis, the delegation insisted, was for the rebels to renounce secession in any agreed forms of words. Anything short of the preservation of peace, unity and territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Nigeria with external boundaries as defined in the 1963 Constitution of Nigeria is bound to fail, the delegation emphasised.

Speaking on arrival at Ikeja Airport yesterday, the leader of the Nigerian delegation to the Monrovia talks, Mr Femi Okunnu, who is also the Federal Commissioner for Works and Housing described the Monrovia Declaration on the Nigerian civil war as "historic" because according to him, that was "the first time the O.A.U. Consultative Committee on Nigeria made it clear to the secessionist leaders that they should give up secession and accept the unity of Nigeria before both sides declare immediate ceasefire to be followed by detailed negotiations on all other problems."

He said that the rebel regime would "bear a heavy responsibility for the continuation of the war in Nigeria"

/by rejecting....

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0945

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By	MM/ARA Date 10/5/03

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by rejecting the ~~Monrovia Declaration~~ and called on the foreign backers of the rebel regime "to bring pressure to bear on the rebels to accept the 'African solution' embodied in the Declaration".

Following are the full texts of the speech delivered at Monrovia and Mr Okunnu's press statement on arrival at Ikeja Airport:-

STATEMENT BY THE NIGERIAN DELEGATION AT THE
CONFERENCE OF THE O.A.U. CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION
HOLDING IN MONROVIA ON APRIL 18, 1969

Your Imperial Majesty, Your Excellencies, may I first of all convey to Your Imperial Majesty and Your Excellencies the warmest greetings of His Excellency Major-General Yakubu Gowon on the occasion of this historic meeting. May I also convey our thanks to His Excellency President Tubman for his inspiring speech and for playing host to this session of the Consultative Committee on Nigeria.

It is perhaps right and proper to refer to the Kinshasa and Algiers resolutions of the Assembly of Heads of State of the O.A.U. to appreciate the basic position of the Federal Government to maintain peace, unity and territorial integrity of Nigeria. The Algiers resolution, while repeating the terms of the Kinshasa resolution went further to appeal to the other side "to cooperate with the Federal authorities in order to restore peace and unity in Nigeria." It is in the light of these resolutions and in the light of previous efforts by this Consultative Commission that the Federal Government insists that any settlement of our crisis which does not have as its basis the preservation of peace, unity and territorial integrity of the Federal Republic of Nigeria with external boundaries as defined in the 1963 Constitution of Nigeria is not only bound to fail and lead to fragmentation of Nigeria into many warring groups but will also set in motion secessionist's tendencies in the whole of Africa.

/In order therefore.....

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0946

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By <i>MM</i> NARA Date <i>10/5/05</i>

In order therefore to achieve this basic objective of the Kinshasa and Algiers resolutions, it is essential that the other side should renounce secession in any agreed forms of words it is desired to be couched. A ceasefire would then be ordered to take effect on the given date and arrangements made for the disarming of the rebel soldiers and for effective administration and policing of the area occupied by the other side after the D-day.

Proposals for Guarantees for People in Areas
Still Held by the Rebels

Statement of the Problem:

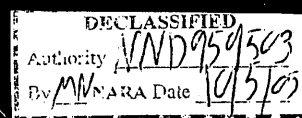
How can the people in the areas under the control of the other side be reintegrated into Nigeria? This formulation enables us to concentrate on the essentials and the problem is that of guarantees on the basis of one Nigeria. It is obvious that a different set of solutions will be inevitable if there are two sovereign countries.

Guarantees:

The Federal Government in a reunited Nigeria will not be a foreign government as it appears to the delegation on the other side at present. Ibos from the East Central State will participate in the Federal Government on the same basis as people from other states in the executive, administrative, military, police, judicial and other aspects of government. The present composition of the civilian members of the Federal Executive Council is one Commissioner from each of the eleven states. The only state not represented on the Federal Executive Council at present is the East Central State in deference to the need to appoint somebody from the state who appears to command the confidence of the people of that state. Such a person will be appointed Federal Commissioner with a portfolio as soon as possible. As in the other eleven /states a Military Governor....

AROS/COO

0947



4

states a Military Governor will, as soon as possible, be appointed to East Central State. He will be an Ibo and will be a member of the Supreme Military Council on the same basis as the other military governors. Furthermore, consistent with the national aims of the Federal Government and especially with its already made offer to grant general and specific amnesty it is the policy of the Federal Government to seek to reinstate and re-employ former Federal Public Servants; both in the Government service and in the Corporations who for one reason or other had to leave their posts in the past two years.

A stable means of livelihood for individuals in a society is a precondition of the functioning of a viable social order and any proper system of law and order based on justice. It is for this reason that the Federal Government lays great emphasis on its proposals and policies for the rehabilitation of persons displaced from their stable sources of livelihood as a result of the tragic events of the last two years, up to and including the current civil war. A National Rehabilitation Commission has already been set up which has responsibility, in co-operation with the state governments, to rehabilitate all displaced persons.

The Administration of the East Central State will be in the hands of the people of that State. The Federal peace plan ensures that some of the state Commissioners will be drawn from people on the other side. In addition, the law enforcement agencies, the judiciary and civilian administrators will be Ibos of East Central State origin as is the case in other states. It should be stated that already under the Asika Administration in the East Central State returning public servants of the former Eastern Regional Government are currently being reinstated and re-employed.

/The policing of.....

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0948

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By	MMNARA Date 10/5/03

5

~~The policing of the East Central State will be provided~~
by the Nigeria Police Force in which the rank and file in
each State are normally people drawn from the indigenes of
that state. In the case of the East Central State, it will
be guaranteed that all the policemen and officers would be
drawn from people of East Central State origin. These are
the people who come into daily contact with the ordinary
people as the instrument of law and order. This pattern
of policing is already adopted in the Rivers and the South
Eastern States, areas of the former Eastern Region now
under Federal Control.

Possible guarantees regarding the Armed Forces are indeed
limited. The Armed Forces must remain one since there
cannot be two standing armies under independent and
sovereign command in one country. On the other hand, after
the bitterness of the civil war and the consequent propaganda
from the other side, it is natural for many people on the
other side to fear for their lives until mutual confidence
is re-established. It is in recognition of this that the
Federal peace plan includes the establishment of an External
Observer Force to provide added confidence of security for
the people in areas at present under the control of the other
side. The details of such a force in the context of one
country, its functions, composition, number, command,
financing and duration of presence can be negotiated during
these talks.

As already stated, the Federal Army will not normally
perform ordinary policing duties and their presence will
only be required where there is a threat to peace or break-
down of law and order. There is therefore no need to station
federal forces in all parts of the East Central State. The

/Federal Government.....

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0949

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By	MMNARA
Date	10/5/03

6

Federal Government-delegation are prepared to negotiate the number of strategic places where federal forces are to be stationed in the East Central State. The presence of federal forces will not be felt by the ordinary men under these arrangements until confidence is restored.

As for the disarming of rebel troops it should be explained that the intention of the Federal Government is to re-absorb Ibos on individual basis in the Federal armed forces as is the case with the other ethnic groups. The purpose is not to disarm the forces under the control of the other side and debar the Ibos as a people from even participating in the Armed Forces of their country. The Federal offer of amnesty is relevant here. It will facilitate the re-absorption of Ibos into the federal armed forces as confidence is slowly re-established. The role and duration of the External Observer Force are equally relevant considerations here.

The Federal Government delegations prepared to consider any additional guarantees the other side may propose in the context of a 'one country' solution without which there can be no meaningful negotiations on the question of guarantees for the security of people in areas at present under the control of the other side.

There is no problem of guarantee in areas of the East Central State under Federal control since federal forces including policemen and officers of Ibo origin in these areas are protecting the lives of the civilians there even under wartime conditions. In the Abakaliki Province alone there are well over 600,000 Ibos under Federal control. In the villages around Enugu there are over 100,000 civilians. In the Mid-West, there is an Ibo population of about 500,000. In Lagos and Western States, there are over 50,000 Ibos under federal control. In all, there are at present about 4 million Ibos in all

/the areas under....

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0950

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By	MM NARA Date 10/5/03

the areas under federal control but they do not require any special guarantees now and will not require any special arrangements when peace has been restored through the country.

These then are our proposals to achieve the objective set out by the Kinshasa and Algiers resolutions, an objective which has constantly been in the minds of Your Imperial and Your Excellencies, and that is the preservation of the unity and territorial integrity of Nigeria and a peaceful solution which shall guarantee the safety and security of all her inhabitants. This then is our offer to our brothers on the other side: Peace with honour, the peace of the brave.

May I add, Your Imperial Majesty and Your Excellencies that the Federal delegation has the full mandate to negotiate and reach agreement on any issues raised at this Conference which could lead to a peaceful settlement provided it is on the basis of a united Nigeria Solution in accordance with the Kinshasa and Algiers resolutions.

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By	MW NARA Date 10/5/05

P. 8

PRESS STATEMENT BY FEMI OKUNNU LEADER OF
THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DELEGATION TO THE
MONROVIA PEACE TALKS AND FEDERAL COMMISS-
SIONER FOR WORKS AND HOUSING APRIL 22, 1969

Gentlemen of the Press,

You must all have seen the Monrovia Declaration on the Nigerian civil war. It is a historic declaration because for the first time, the O.A.U. Consultative Committee on Nigeria made it clear to the secessionist leaders that they should give up secession and accept the unity of Nigeria before both sides declare immediate ceasefire to be followed by detailed negotiations on all other problems.

The Federal Government because of our strong desire for peaceful solution to the conflict, accepted the Monrovia Declaration while the rebel representative rejected the O.A.U. call for immediate ceasefire based on the acceptance of a united Nigeria. By rejecting this African solution to the Nigerian problem, the rebel leaders bear a heavy responsibility for the continuation of the war in Nigeria. I take this opportunity to appeal to the foreign backers of the rebel regime and the humanitarian organisations giving Ojukwu moral and material support, to bring pressure to bear on the rebels to accept the "African solution" embodied in the Monrovia Declaration of peace and unity in Nigeria.

The other significant aspect of the Monrovia summit is that it is clear that the political question of secession has to be resolved before ceasefire can
AK/COO /be attained

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Authority VND954503
By MNARA Date 10/5/03

9

be attained and the humanitarian problems resolved. In other words, Ojukwu cannot continue to play politics with human sufferings after the callous indifference and inhumanity his representatives displayed at the Monrovia peace talks. The Federal Government is however, ready to talk with the rebels without preconditions but we must agree on one Nigeria before ceasefire. The rebels on the other hand, still insist on the acceptance of the so-called sovereignty of their disappearing empire before they will engage in meaningful peace talks.

The Federal delegation submitted to the Monrovia peace talks comprehensive proposals for the security and safety of Ibos in rebel-held areas but the rebel representatives made it quite clear that they are not interested in the security of Ibos outside their dream republic. The O.A.U. Consultative Committee was highly impressed by the Federal Government's plans for the future of Ibos within the Nigerian Federation of twelve States.

The impression has been given in the foreign press and radio that the Monrovia peace talks ended in failure because the Consultative Committee could not bring about an immediate settlement. What they are saying in effect, is that the O.A.U. failed because it did not support Ojukwu's desire to break up Nigeria. The truth is that the Monrovia Conference broke up because of the intransigence of the rebels in refusing to accept that the O.A.U. and Africa has always stood against secession and the break up of member states into ineffectual mini-states and warring principalities or tribal enclaves.

We did not get everything we wanted in Monrovia, but the Federal Government is satisfied with the outcome of the Monrovia Conference. It marks the beginning of a new move to concentrate on how to end the war through peace talks or otherwise rather than the recent attempt to divert the attention of the world to the so-called humanitarian aspects.

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Authority	VND 954503
By	MMNARA Date 10/5/00

37



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET -77

PAGE 01 ACCRA 01275 251747Z

54

ACTION AF 18

INFO EUR 17, IO 13, AID 28, SRI 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04, UPW 01, UCF 05,

CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, /157 W

028415

R 251530Z APR 69

FM AMEMBASSY ACCRA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6078

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

AMEMBASSY NIAMEY

AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

SECRET ACCRA 1275

NOFORN

SUBJ: AFRIFA ON NIGERIA

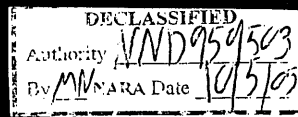
1. WHEN I PAID COURTESY CALL ON NEW NLC CHAIRMAN AFRIFA APRIL 24, I ASKED HIM HOW HE VIEWED NIGERIAN SITUATION IN WAKE CONCOM MEETING.

2. HIS FIRST REACTION WAS HIGHLY PERSONAL. HE EXPLAINED CLOSE RELATIONSHIPS HE HAD HAD WITH MANY YORUBA AND IBO OFFICERS, INCLUDING BOTH GOWON AND OJUKWU, BECAUSE GOLD COAST (AND LATER GHANA) SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND MILITARY TRAINING ESTABLISHMENTS AS WELL AS SANDHURST DREW STUDENTS FROM ALL FORMER BRITISH COLONIES IN WEST AFRICA. HE SAID HE FELT TRAGEDY OF CIVIL WAR DEEPLY BECAUSE SO MANY CLOSE FRIENDS ON BOTH SIDES HAD BEEN KILLED.

3. WHAT HE FEARED MOST HE SAID WAS LONG STALEMATE DURING WHICH BIAFRANS WOULD RESORT MORE AND MORE TO GUERRILLA WARFARE. HE DISMISSED MILITARY SIGNIFICANCE OF FALL OF

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02 ACCRA 01275 251747Z

UMUAHIA AND SAID THIS WOULD ONLY MAKE GUERILLA WARFARE MORE LIKELY. HE SAID IF WAR DRAGGED ON FOR EVEN ONE YEAR, DURING THAT TIME BIAFRAN TROOPS WOULD DEVELOP GUERILLA SURVIVAL CAPABILITY AND REBELLION WOULD NEVER BE SUPPRESSED.

4. IN LIGHT THIS CONSIDERATION HE THOUGHT THERE WAS URGENT NEED GET GOWON AND OJUKWU INTO FACE-TO-FACE NEGOTIATIONS. HE THOUGHT BOTH WERE READY TO TALK BUT METHODS USED SO FAR TO BRING THEM TOGETHER HAD BEEN ILL-CONCEIVED.

5. HE SAID ESSENTIAL FIRST STEP WAS TO RECONSTITUTE CONCOM, WHICH HE CONSIDERED AN INEFFECTUAL BODY MADE UP OF AGED EMPEROR AND POLITICIANS VERY HEAVILY BIASED IN FAVOR FMG AND THEREFORE SUSPECT IN EYES OJUKWU. HE TOUGHT EMPEROR WOULD HAVE TO BE RETAINED BUT ACTION SHOULD BE IN HANDS OF SMALLER, MORE BALANCED GROUP WITH SENSE OF URGENCY. I ASKED WHETHER BIAS, IF IT EXISTED, WAS IN FAVOR FMG OR WAS MERELY MANIFESTATION SUPPORT FOR UNITY PRINCIPLE. WOULD OJUKWU REALLY NEGOTIATE IN CONTEXT "UNITED NIGERIA," PRINCIPLE WHICH I UNDERSTOOD GOG THOUGHT IMPORTANT? AFRIFA SAID HE WAS MORE CONCERNED WITH FINDING PRODUCTIVE METHOD AND WITH PSYCHOLOGICAL ADVANTAGE OF STARTING AFRESH. HE DID NOT COMMENT DIRECTLY ON MY REMARK RE GOG ADHERENCE TO UNITY PRINCIPLE.

6. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT, ONCE NEW FRAMEWORK CREATED BY RECONSTITUTION CONCOM, SECRET APPROACH SHOULD BE MADE TO GOWON AND OJUKWU BY SMALL-COUNTRY REPRESENTATIVE DESIGNATED BY NEW CONCOM. BIG POWER INVOLVEMENT OR FURTHER AFRICAN CONFERENCES ATTENDED BY LARGE DELEGATIONS WOULD KILL ANY CHANCE OF SUCCESS. GOWON AND OJUKWU SHOULD MEET IN PRIVATE WITHOUT SUPPORTING STAFFS UNDER AUSPICES SINGLE AFRICAN LEADER WITH DRIVE WHO GENUINELY WANTED TO SEE TWO SIDES REACH AGREEMENT. I SAID HIS DESCRIPTION IDEAL AGENT TO BRING TWO SIDES TOGETHER SOUNDED VERY MUCH LIKE HIM. WAS THIS WHAT HE HAD IN MIND? HE SAID YES, BUT HE NOT ONLY ONE WHO COULD DO IT. HE THOUGHT AHIDJO ALSO MET CRITERIA. MOBUTU WOULD NOT DO BECAUSE HE TOO STRONGLY PRO-FMG. REST OF THOSE IN PRESENT CONCOM TOO OLD AND LACKING IN DYNAMISM. I ASKED WHETHER GOG INTENDED TAKE INITIATIVE ALONG LINES HE HAD SUGGESTED. HE WAS NON-COMMITTAL, SAID ANY SUCH PLAN WOULD HAVE TO BE CAREFULLY THOUGHT OUT.

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By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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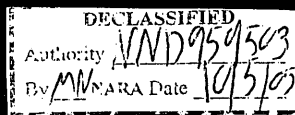
PAGE 03: ACCRA 01275 251747Z

7. COMMENT: I THINK AFRIFA, PERHAPS MORE OPTIMISTIC THAN FACTS WARRANT, IS EAGER PLAY PEACE-MAKER ROLE AND IS WILLING DO SO EVEN IF "UNITED NIGERIA" PRINCIPLE HAS TO BE DE-EMPHASIZED AS TACTIC TO GET NEGOTIATIONS STARTED. I WOULD GUESS THAT, PROBABLY IN CONNECTION WITH HARLEY'S REPORT ON CONCOM MEETING, THERE HAS ALREADY BEEN SOME DISCUSSION IN NLC OF POSSIBLE GOG INITIATIVE. HOWEVER IT IS LIKELY AFRIFA IS AHEAD OF OTHER MEMBERS, WHO ARE GENERALLY LESS WILLING TO BECOME INVOLVED AND BELIEVE MORE STRONGLY IN UNITY PRINCIPLE THAN AFRIFA. REFERENCE TO AHIDJO PUZZLING, SINCE HARLEY

CAME AWAY FROM CONCOM THINKING AHIDJO VERY STRONGLY PRO-FMG (AGW0867). IN FACT, AFRIFA GROPE FOR NAME OF PERSON HE DESCRIBED AS BEING FROM FRENCH-SPEAKING COUNTRY WHO WAS REALIST AND REASONABLY NEUTRAL. I ASKED IF HE MEANT DIORI, ALTHOUGH I DID NOT THINK AFRIFA WOULD CONSIDER HIM YOUNG ENOUGH. MIN EXT AFF PRIN SEC BOATEN, WHO PRESENT, SUGGESTED HE HAD AHIDJO IN MIND AND AFRIFA AGREED. I STILL THINK HE MEANT DIORI. NLC VIEWS UNLIKELY TO HAVE JELLED BUT I WOULD NOT UNDERESTIMATE CHANCES NLC ACQUIESCENCE IF AFRIFA PASSES POINT AND IS WILLING TAKE PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR INITIATIVE. TIME WOULD BE REQUIRED RECONSTITUTE CONCOM AND NLC PRESUMABLY HAS ONLY FIVE-MONTHS' LEASE ON LIFE. IF HE INTENDS PURSUE MATTER, AFRIFA WILL HAVE TO ACT QUICKLY. MCELHINEY

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
 X R POL 15-1 GHANA
 Department of State
TELEGRAM

SECRET 956

PAGE 01 ACCRA 01273 261214Z

14
 ACTION AF 18

INFO EUR 17, IO 13, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, UPW 01, UCF 05,

CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, /157 W

034172

R 251530Z APR 69
 FM AMEMBASSY ACCRA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6078
 INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
 AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
 AMEMBASSY LAGOS
 AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
 AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
 AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

S E C R E T ACCRA 1273

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (FOR MRN ONLY)

NOFORN

SUBJ: AFRIFA ON NIGERIA

1. WHEN I PAID COURTESY CALL ON NEW NLC CHAIRMAN AFRIFA APRIL 24, I ASKED HIM HOW HE VIEWED NIGERIAN SITUATION IN WAKE CONCOM MEETING.

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3. WHAT HE FEARED MOST HE SAID WAS LONG STALEMATE DURING WHICH BIAFRANS WOULD RESORT MORE AND MORE TO GUERRILLA

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DECLASSIFIED
 Authority VND 959503
 By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02 ACCRA 01273 261214Z

WARFARE. HE DISMISSED MILITARY SIGNIFICANCE OF FALL OF UMUAHIA AND SAID THIS WOULD ONLY MAKE GUERILLA WARFARE MORE LIKELY. HE SAID IF WAR DRAGGED ON FOR EVEN ONE YEAR, DURING THAT TIME BIAFRAN TROOPS WOULD DEVELOP GUERILLA SURVIVAL CAPABILITY AND REBELLION WOULD NEVER BE SUPPRESSED.

4. IN LIGHT THIS CONSIDERATION HE THOUGHT THERE WAS URGENT NEED GET GOWON AND OJUKWU INTO FACE-TO-FACE NEGOTIATIONS. HE THOUGHT BOTH WERE READY TO TALK BUT METHODS USED SO FAR TO BRING THEM TOGETHER HAD BEEN ILL-CONCEIVED.

5. HE SAID ESSENTIAL FIRST STEP WAS TO RECONSTITUTE CONCOM, WHICH HE CONSIDERED AN INEFFECTUAL BODY MADE UP OF AGED EMPEROR AND POLITICIANS VERY HEAVILY BIASED IN FAVOR FMG AND THEREFORE SUSPECT IN EYES OJUKWU. HE THOUGHT EMPEROR WOULD HAVE TO BE RETAINED BUT ACTION SHOULD BE IN HANDS OF SMALLER, MORE BALANCED GROUP WITH SENSE OF URGENCY. I ASKED WHETHER BIAS, IF IT EXISTED, WAS IN FAVOR FMG OR WAS MERELY MANIFESTATION SUPPORT FOR UNITY PRINCIPLE. WOULD OJUKWU REALLY NEGOTIATE IN CONTEXT "UNITED NIGERIA," PRINCIPLE WHICH I UNDERSTOOD GOG THOUGHT IMPORTANT? AFRIFA SAID HE WAS MORE CONCERNED WITH FINDING PRODUCTIVE METHOD AND WITH PSYCHOLOGICAL ADVANTAGE OF STARTING AFRESH. HE DID NOT COMMENT DIRECTLY ON MY REMARK RE GOG ADHERENCE TO UNITY PRINCIPLE.

6. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT, ONCE NEW FRAMEWORK CREATED BY RECONSTITUTION CONCOM, SECRET APPROACH SHOULD BE MADE TO GOWON AND OJUKWU BY SMALL-COUNTRY REPRESENTATIVE DESIGNATED BY NEW CONCOM. BIG POWER INVOLVEMENT OR FURTHER AFRICAN CONFERENCES ATTENDED BY LARGE DELEGATIONS WOULD KILL ANY CHANCE OF SUCCESS. GOWON AND OJUKWU SHOULD MEET IN PRIVATE WITHOUT SUPPORTING STAFFS UNDER AUSPICES SINGLE AFRICAN LEADER WITH DRIVE WHO GENUINELY WANTED TO SEE TWO SIDES REACH AGREEMENT. I SAID HIS DESCRIPTION IDEAL AGENT TO BRING TWO SIDES TOGETHER SOUNDED VERY MUCH LIKE HIM. WAS THIS WHAT HE HAD IN MIND? HE SAID YES, BUT HE NOT ONLY ONE WHO COULD DO IT. HE THOUGHT AHIDJO ALSO MET CRITERIA. MOBUTU WOULD NOT DO BECAUSE HE TOO STRONGLY PRO-FMG. REST OF THOSE IN PRESENT CONCOM TOO OLD AND LACKING IN DYNAMISM. I ASKED WHETHER GOG INTENDED TAKE INITIATIVE ALONG LINES HE HAD SUGGESTED. HE WAS NON-COMMITTAL, SAID ANY SUCH PLAN

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DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 959503
By	MNARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 03: ACCRA 01273 261214Z

WOULD HAVE TO BE CAREFULLY THOUGHT OUT.

7. COMMENT: I THINK AFRIFA, PERHAPS MORE OPTIMISTIC THAN FACTS WARRANT, IS EAGER PLAY PEACE-MAKER ROLE AND IS WILLING DO SO EVEN IF "UNITED NIGERIA" PRINCIPLE HAS TO BE DE-EMPHASIZED AS TACTIC TO GET NEGOTIATIONS STARTED. I WOULD GUESS THAT, PROBABLY IN CONNECTION WITH HARLEY'S REPORT ON CONCOM MEETING, THERE HAS ALREADY BEEN SOME DISCUSSION IN NLC OF POSSIBLE GOG INITIATIVE. HOWEVER IT IS LIKELY AFRIFA IS AHEAD OF OTHER MEMBERS, WHO ARE GENERALLY LESS WILLING TO BECOME INVOLVED AND BELIEVE MORE STRONGLY IN UNITY PRINCIPLE THAN AFRIFA. REFERENCE TO AHIDJO PUZZLING, SINCE HARLEY

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MW/ARA Date 10/5/03

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

UNCLASSIFIED 539

PAGE 01 LAGOS 03584 241721Z

53
ACTION AF 18

INFO EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,
NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, ACDA 16, AID 28, SCSE 00,
SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03, PC 15, UPW 01, UCF 05, RSR 01, /184 W
----- 020938

R 241142Z APR 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6189
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
USMISSION GENEVA
AMCONSUL IBADAN
AMCONSUL KADUNA

UNCLAS LAGOS 3584

SUBJECT: FMG GUARANTEES TO IBOS AT MONROVIA

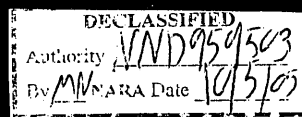
REF: LAGOS 12558, SEPT 11, 1968

1. FMG ISSUED PRESS RELEASE APRIL 23 EMBODYING (A) STATEMENT OF
NIGERIAN DELEGATION TO CONCOM CONFERENCE ON APRIL 18 AT MONROVIA, AND
(B) PRESS STATEMENT OF APRIL 22 BY DELEGATION LEADER OKUNNU AT LAGOS.

2. (A) CONTAINS "PROPOSALS FOR GUARANTEES FOR PEOPLE IN AREAS
STILL HELD BY THE REBELS" WHICH ARE VERBATIM REPETITION OF
PROPOSALS INITIALLY MADE PUBLIC BY OKUNNU ON SEPTEMBER 10, 1968,
ON HIS RETURN FROM ADDIS ABABA. ONLY CHANGE IN TEXT REPORTED IN
REFTEL IS IN PARA 1 G WHERE FIGURE OF 2 MILLION IBOS UNDER FEDERAL

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24

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 03584 241721Z

CONTROL NOW READS 4 MILLION.

3. IN STATEMENT (B) OKUNNU CALLS ATTENTION TO CONCOM MONROVIA DECLARATION AND TO FACT FMG ACCEPTED IT AND REBELS REJECTED IT. HE CALLS ON "FOREIGN BACKERS OF REBEL REGIME AND HUMANITARIAN ORGANISATIONS GIVING OJUKWU MORAL AND MATERIAL SUPPORT TO BRING PRESSURE TO BEAR ON REBELS TO ACCEPT "AFRICAN SOLUTION" OF MONROVIA DECLARATION.

4. OKUNNU STATES FMG "READY TO TALK WITH REBELS WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS BUT WE MUST AGREE ON ONE NIGERIA BEFORE CEASEFIRE".

5. ON REPORTS THAT MONROVIA WAS A FAILURE, OKUNNU SAYS CONFERENCE BROKE UP BECAUSE OF REBEL INTRANSIGENCE.

6. FULL TEXTS FOLLOW BY AIRGRAM.
MATHEWS

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By	MNARA
Date	10/5/05



POL 27 BIAFRA - NIGERIA
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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 PARIS 05807 231043Z

20
ACTION AF 18

INFO EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, ACDA 16, UCF 05,

UPW 01, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, /173 W
011338

R 231020Z APR 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3081
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 5807

SUBJ: FRENCH VIEW OF BIAFRA

REF: PARIS 5251 AND LAGOS 3446

1. IN BRIEF CONVERSATION APRIL 21 WITH POLCOUNS, QUAI DIRECTOR FOR AFRICA (LEBEL) SAID HE THOUGHT THAT MILITARY SITUATION WOULD BE STABILIZED, THANKS LARGELY TO ONSET OF HEAVY RAINS, SO THAT BIAFRA COULD HOLD FOR SOME MONTHS EVEN THOUGH UMUAHIA MIGHT FALL TO FMG. AS REPORTED REFTELS, LEBEL GAVE NO INDICATION FRENCH POLICY OF SUPPORT FOR BIAFRA IS ABOUT TO CHANGE, AND HE PESSIMISTIC RE PROSPECTS TWO SIDES MEETING TO TRY AND FIND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT.

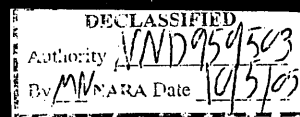
2. IN SEPARATE CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF APRIL 21, QUAI NIGERIAN DESK OFFICER (PIERRET) ALSO SAID HE THOUGHT BIAFRA COULD PROBABLY HOLD OUT UNTIL END OF RAINY SEASON. FMG WILL PROBABLY TAKE UMUAHIA BUT LIKELY BOG DOWN DUE TO COMBINATION OF HEAVY RAINS AND NEED FOR RESUPPLY AND REORGANIZATION WHICH USUALLY FOLLOWS MAJOR FMG OFFENSIVES. HOWEVER, PIERRET THOUGHT THAT NEXT MAJOR FMG PUSH WOULD PROBABLY BE ENOUGH TO FINISH OFF BIAFRA AS IT PRESENTLY EXISTS. HE SAW NO POSSIBILITY OF EITHER MILITARY OR POLITICAL SOLUTION FAVORABLE TO BIAFRA.

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POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 713

PAGE 01 MONROV 01851 221640Z

43
ACTION AF 18

INFO EUR 17, AID 28, IO 13, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04, UPW 01, UCF 05,

NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, 159 W

006116

P 221415Z APR 69
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6575
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
CINCSRIKE/CINCMCAFSA UNN

C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 1851

SUBJECT: CONCOM CONFERENCE MONROVIA

(2) 1. PRESIDENT TUBMAN CALLED ME IN TODAY. HE BEGAN BY TELLING ME OF THE VISIT TO HIM OF THE BIAFRAN DELEGATION AT THE DELEGATION'S REQUEST ON SUNDAY, APRIL 20. MEMBERS OF THE DEL TOLD HIM THAT HAD THEY AGREED TO THE TERM "UNITED NIGERIA" AND RETURNED TO BIAFRA, EVEN THEIR OWN WIVES WOULD HAVE CUT OFF THEIR HEADS. THERE HAD BEEN TOO MANY MASSACRES OF BIAFRANS ALL OVER NIGERIA. BIAFRANS CANNOT TRUST NIGERIANS.

2. WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO TERM "UNITED NIGERIA" THEY INSISTED THAT THEY WOULD HAVE TO KNOW WHAT THE STRUCTURE OF SUCH A NIGERIA WOULD BE. THEREFORE WHAT THEY WANT IS A TRUCE SO THAT THEY CAN TALK WITH FMG AND DISCUSS AND DEVELOP A STRUCTURE.

3. BIAFRANS FEEL THAT UK HAS BEEN MOST TREACHEROUS. THEY ADDED

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Authority VMD 954503
By MVA Date 10/5/03

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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12 POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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PAGE 01 COTONOU 00423 221826Z

52

ACTION: AF 18

INFO: EUR 17, IO 13, SR 01, ORM 03, UCF 05, UPW 01, AID 28, CIAEI 00, DBDE 00,

JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SPI 02, SS 20, USIA 12,

NSA 02, PC 04, ACDA 16, RSR 01, 174 W 006739

R 221610Z APR 69
FM AMEMBASSY COTONOU
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2031
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

UNCLAS COTONOU 423

1. FOLLOWING 24-HOUR PRIVATE VISIT TO DAHOMEY BY PRESIDENT AHIDJO, JOINT COMMUNIQUE TOUCHING ON NIGERIAN PROBLEM WAS RELEASED ON APRIL 21. PERTINENT SECTION OF COMMUNIQUE IS AS FOLLOWS: QUOTE. PRESIDENT AHIDJO INFORMED PRESIDENT ZINSOU OF RESULTS OF WORK PERFORMED BY CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OAU FOR NIGERIA. HE INFORMED ZINSOU NOTABLY OF DECLARATION BY CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE, ADVOCATING RESPECT FOR TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF NIGERIA, IMMEDIATE CEASE-FIRE AND OPENING OF NEGOTIATIONS. PRESIDENT ZINSOU ASSOCIATED HIMSELF WITH THESE PROPOSITIONS. TWO CHIEFS OF STATE EXPRESSED THEIR IDENTITY OF VIEWS ON NECESSITY, GOING BEYOND HUMANITARIAN ACTION, OF REESTABLISHING PEACE AND SAFEGUARDING TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF NIGERIA. UNQUOTE. KNOX.

UNCLASSIFIED 32

0964

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Authority VMD 954503
By MNARA Date 10/5/05



Pol 27.14 Biafra-Nigeria
XL Pol 23.8 Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 870

PAGE 01 IBADAN 00115 211601Z

51
ACTION: AF 18

INFO: UCF 05, UPW 01, EUR 17, OPR 02, PC 04, AID 28, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04,
H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12,
SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03, IO 13, RSR 01, 163 W
----- 130054

PIR 211230Z APR 69
FM AMCONSUL IBADAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 809
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMCONSUL KADUNA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE IBADAN 115

SUBJECT: RADIO "BIAFRA" REPORT ON RIOTS IN WESTERN NIGERIA

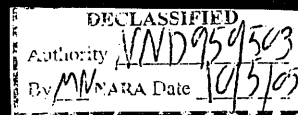
1. ON RECEIVING MESSAGE THIS MORNING FROM EMBASSY CALLING OUR ATTENTION TO RADIO "BIAFRA" REPORT (FBIS N 18 1015) THAT RIOTS HAD AGAIN BROKEN OUT IN WESTERN STATE BEGINNING IN ADO-EKITI, I CHECKED WITH POLICE COMMISSIONER OLUFUNWA AND SENIOR OFFICER ON DUTY AT IBADAN GARRISON ORGANIZATION HEADQUARTERS MAJOR OBEYA. BOTH ASSURED ME THERE NO TRUTH IN REPORT, THOUGH OLUFUNWA ADDED THERE HAD BEEN MINOR DISTURBANCE IN ADO-EKITI OVER CHIEFTAINCY MATTER. NEITHER BRITISH DEPUTY HIGH COMMISSION NOR CONSULATE HAS HAD ANY REPORT OF DIFFICULTIES FROM OUR CITIZENS IN ADO-EKITI AREA.

2. CONCLUDE THIS ANOTHER PROPAGANDA EXERCISE BY RADIO "BIAFRA" WHICH PRESUMABLY SOUGHT TO EMBARRASS WESTERN STATE MILITARY GOVERNOR WHO COMES FROM ADO-EKITI AREA. STRONG

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32

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(B)



1027 BIA FRA - NIGERIA
1027-14 BIA FRA - NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE 212

PAGE 01 MONROV 01807 201818Z

45
ACTION AF 18

INFO EUR 17, IO 13, UCF 05, AID 28, SSO 00, NSCE 00, CCO 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00,

DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02,

SS 20, SR 01, ORM 03, UPW 01, ACDA 16, RSR 01, 156 W

126095

O P 201719Z APR 69
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6558
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY LUISIANA
AMEMBASSY BOIS ARAB
USUN NEN
CINCPAC PACAF

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE MONROVIA 1807

REF: MONROVIA 1805

(2) SUBJ: CONCOM MTG MONROVIA.

1. FOLLOWING DEPARTURE CONCOM HEADS OF STATE MORNING APR 20,
DIALLO TELLI MET WITH PRESS AND ISSUED FINAL COMMUNIQUE.
COMMUNIQUE REFERS TO DECLARATION UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED BY CONCOM
WHICH ISSUED IN SEPARATE STATEMENT. DECLARATION READS
(UNNECESSARY WORDS OMITTED):

"UPON REQUEST CONCOM OF OAU ON NIGERIA TWO PARTIES CIVIL
WAR ACCEPT, IN SUPREME INTEREST AFRICA, A UNITED NIGERIA
WHICH ENSURES ALL FORM SECURITY AND GUARANTEE OF EQUALITY
OF RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES TO ALL ITS CITIZENS."

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31

Monrovia
Tel. 1807
4/20/69

0966

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Authority VMD 950503
By MVA Date 10/5/05



Pol 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
XR Pol 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 010

PAGE 01 PARIS 05662 191652Z

45
ACTION AF 18

INFO: EUR 17, UPW 01, UCF 05, AID 28, IO 13, SR 01, ORM 03, CIAE 00, DDE 00,

JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, LI 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20,

USIA 12, RSR 01, 152 W

122954

P R 191536Z APR 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2994
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 5662

SUBJ: HOUPHOUET BOIGNY AND NIGERIA

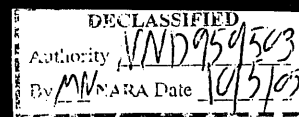
REF: PARIS 5427 AND STATE 60143

(2) 1. IVORY COAST AMBASSADOR TANOE CALLED MORNING APRIL 19 TO SAY
PRESIDENT HOUPHOUET BOIGNY WILL BE ABLE GIVE US FURTHER READING
ON HIS THINKING ABOUT SETTLEMENT NIGERIAN CONFLICT BY TUESDAY
(RATHER THAN TODAY). HE SAID HOUPHOUET AWAITING ARRIVAL OF UN-
IDENTIFIED PERSON HERE IN PARIS BEFORE TALKING TO US AGAIN.
SHRIVER

CONFIDENTIAL

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37



POL 27-14 BIAPRA NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

UNCLASSIFIED 096

PAGE 01 ACCRA 01158 161451Z

43
ACTION: AF 18

INFO: EUR 17, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, HI 02, INRI 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, AID 28, PC 04, /133 W
099146

R 161235Z APR 69
FM AMEMBASSY ACCRA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6007
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

UNCLAS ACCRA 1158

SUBJECT: DELEGATION TO CONCOM MEETING

REF: ACCRA 1135 - *pl 27-14 Biapra*

P.D. ANIN, WHO REASSUMED POST OF COMMISSIONER FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS FOLLOWING RESIGNATION OF FORMER ATTORNEY GENERAL VICTOR OWUSU YESTERDAY, HAS REPLACED OWUSU ON GHANAIAN DELEGATION TO CONCOM MEETING AT MONROVIA. DELEGATION DEPARTED ACCRA FOR MONROVIA THIS MORNING. MCELHINEY

*Accra 1158
4-16-69*

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Authority VND 954503
By MVA Date 10/5/03

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

UNCLASSIFIED 197

PAGE 01 ACCRA 01135 151442Z

47
ACTION AF 18

INFO EUR 15 CIAE 00 DODE 00 JPM 04 H 02 INR 07 L 03 NSAE 00 NSC 10
P 04 RSC 01 SP 02 SS 20 USIA 12 AID 28 PC 04 RSR 01 131 W
091612

R 151220Z APR 69
FM AMEMBASSY ACCRA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5999
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

UNCLAS ACCRA 1135

GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCED APRIL 14 THAT JOHN W.K. HARLEY, VICE
CHAIRMAN OF NLC, WILL HEAD GHANA DELEGATION TO CONCOM MEETING.
ACCOMPANYING HARLEY WILL BE VICTOR OWUSU, COMMISSIONER
DESIGNATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, C.C. LOKKO, NLC PRESS SECRETARY,
AND L.O. ANTWI, DIRECTOR OF AFRICA DIVISION OF MINEXTAFF.
GROUP PLANS DEPART FOR MONROVIA APRIL 16. MCELHINEY

4-15-69
1135

(1)

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By MVA Date 10/5/05

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIRECTOR OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH

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*Intelligence
Note* - 270

April 15, 1969

To : The Secretary
Through: S/S
From : INR - Thomas L. Hughes *by h.c.d.h.*
Subject: Nigeria: Almost No Chance for Effective OAU Mediation

The Organization of African Unity's (OAU) six-nation Consultative Commission on Nigeria--which meets this week in Monrovia, Liberia--is unlikely to arrange either a ceasefire or a new round of negotiations aimed at ending the 22 month-old Nigerian civil war. In fact, the meeting probably will amount to little more than a diplomatic sideshow.

No Room for Compromise. Though both parties have agreed to send delegates to Monrovia, neither Lagos nor Biafra is yet ready to modify its war aims. Biafra badly needs the breathing spell a ceasefire would bring, and it is willing to open negotiations only when Lagos agrees to stop the fighting. Once a ceasefire is in effect, Biafra says it is prepared to negotiate a final settlement which might include economic and other ties between an independent Biafra and Nigeria.

Lagos, for its part, has repeatedly refused to grant a ceasefire until Biafra renounces secession and accepts the principle of Nigerian unity. It is, however, willing to open exploratory talks at any time. Meanwhile, it intends to prosecute the war until Biafra surrenders.

Last Chance? Some African leaders feel that the Monrovia meeting will be the OAU's last chance to seek a peaceful settlement in Nigeria. Emperor Haile Selassie, the Chairman of the Consultative Commission, and many of his

③
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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Xc POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Xc POL 3 OAU

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By MNA Date 10/5/05

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- 2 -

fellow African leaders are increasingly concerned about the war and growing outside involvement in it. They want to keep it a strictly African issue, but fear that unless the OAU can soon come up with a peace formula there may be further outside intervention.

Almost No Leverage. The OAU, however, is in no position to act as a disinterested mediator. A large majority of African states officially support Nigeria's efforts to reunify the country, and the Commission itself has called upon Biafra to surrender. Under these conditions, the Commission will probably satisfy itself with yet another declaration warning outsiders not to interfere and calling on both sides to seek a political solution based on the unity of Nigeria.

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By	MW NARA Date 10/5/03

37



POL 27.14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 270

PAGE 01 ACCRA 01136 151444Z

43
ACTION AF 18

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01,

SCS 04, AID 28, UPW 01, UCF 05, RSR 01, /155 W

091615

R 151245Z APR 69
FM AMEMBASSY ACCRA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6000
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

C O N F I D E N T I A L ACCRA 1136

SUBJECT: MALCOLM MACDONALD: DISCUSSION OF NIGERIA WITH AFRIFA

1. ACCORDING BRITISH HICOMER (PROTECT SOURCE), WHO PRESENT,
CONVERSATION APRIL 14 ON NIGERIA BETWEEN BRITISH SPECIAL
REP MALCOLM MACDONALD AND NLC CHAIRMAN AFRIFA MORE PRODUCTIVE
THAN HAD BEEN ANTICIPATED.

2. AFRIFA INFORMED MACDONALD THAT HARLEY WOULD GO MONROVIA
CONCOM MEETING ACCOMPANIED BY OWUSU, WHO HAS JUST SPENT
FOUR DAYS IN LAGOS SURVEYING SITUATION. (ACCRA 1135)
MCDONALD TOOK THIS TO MEAN GOG INTEREST IN NIGERIAN QUESTION
HAS REVIVED.

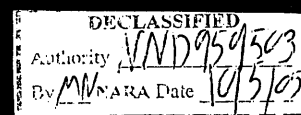
3. EVEN MORE HEARTENING TO MACDONALD WAS INITIATIVE AFRIFA
TOOK IN POINTING OUT GHANA ONLY COMMONWEALTH COUNTRY REPRESENTED
ON CONCOM AND WILLINGNESS EXPRESSED TO CONSULT
CLOSELY WITH BRITISH ON QUESTION. ARRANGEMENT MADE FOR
BRIEFING GHANA DELEGATION JUST BEFORE DEPARTURE BY BRITISH
HICOMER HERE IF INFO ON LATE DEVELOPMENTS AVAILABLE. ALSO,
LIAISON BEING ARRANGED BETWEEN DELEGATION AND BRITISH

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28

ACCRA 1136
4-15-69

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 ACCRA 01136 151444Z

AMBASSADOR IN MONROVIA.

4. ALTHOUGH BRITISH ENCOURAGED BY RAPPORT, HICOMER SAID NO ESSENTIAL CHANGE IN GOG SUBSTANTIVE POSITION. AFRIFA SAID GOG HAS NO SOLUTIONS TO PROPOSE, BELIEVES EFFORT SHOULD BE MADE BRING TWO SIDES TOGETHER BUT NOT OPTIMISTIC ABOUT

SUCCESS IN DOING SO, AND WISHES DO NOTHING HAMPER FMG MILITARY ACTION NOW UNDERWAY. NO CONCERN WITH RELIEF OPERATIONS EXPRESSED.

4. MACDONALD SCHEDULED RETURN TO ACCRA FROM MONROVIA APRIL 16 FOR DAY BEFORE PROCEEDING LONDON APRIL 18 BUT THIS MAINLY DUE FLIGHT SCHEDULES. NO APPOINTMENTS WITH GOG OFFICIALS ARRANGED, BUT MAY SEE AFRIFA AGAIN. MCELHINEY

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Authority	VND959503
By	MMNARA Date 10/5/05



Department of State

TELEGRAM

POW 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

SECRET 364

PAGE 01 PARIS 05251 111943Z

53

ACTION AF 18

INFO EUR 17, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01,

ORM 03, UCF 05, UPW 01, AID 28, RSR 01, /157 W 073791

R 111910Z APR 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2771
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
USMISSION GENEVA

SECRET PARIS 5251

SUBJECT: FRENCH VIEWS ON NIGERIA/BIAFRA

1. EMBOFF REVIEWED FRENCH THINKING ON NIGERIA/BIAFRA WITH ROPARTZ OF FOCCART'S STAFF AND GUEURY (QUAI DEPUTY DIRECTOR FOR NON-FRENCH AFRICA). BOTH MEN QUITE PESSIMISTIC ON FUTURE OF BIAFRA, THOUGHT UPCOMING OAU MEETING AT MONROVIA WOULD GET NOWHERE ON SETTLEMENT, YET INDICATED FRANCE DOES NOT RPT NOT INTEND INCREASE ITS SUPPORT TO BIAFRA.

2. EMBOFF ASKED ROPARTZ APRIL 10 WHAT HE THOUGHT ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF NIGERIAN CONFLICT OR AT LEAST BEGINNING OF SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN FMG AND BIAFRA. EMBOFF REMARKED THAT HOUPHOUET BOIGNY HAD HELD OUT TO US SOME HOPE OF PROGRESS AT MONROVIA OAU MEETING WHEN WE HAD SEEN HIM IN PARIS TWO WEEKS AGO. ROPARTZ SAID HE AWARE OF OUR MEETING WITH HOUPHOUET BUT SAID THAT SITUATION HAD SINCE TAKEN TURN FOR WORSE. THERE NO LONGER MUCH HOPE THAT OJUKWU WOULD COME TO MONROVIA EVEN THOUGH HE MIGHT SEND DELEGATION. MOREOVER, HOUPHOUET MAY NOT GO EITHER SINCE HE PRESENTLY ILL IN GENEVA. BY TIME MONROVIA MEETING HELD, UMUAHIA MAY HAVE FALLEN AND BIAFRA MAY BE WELL ALONG PATY TO OBLIVION. THERE IS, IN HIS OPINION, NO HOPE FOR ANY PROGRESS TOWARD PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT

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By MN NARA Date 10/5/03



XR *Pol 7 UK*
Pol 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 274

PAGE 01 DAR ES 01091 101652Z

43
ACTION AF: 18

INFO EUR 17, IO 13, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00

JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RBC 01, SPI 02, SS 20

USIA 12, UPW 01, UCF 05, RSR 01, 1157 W

065119

R 101416Z APR 69
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5974
INFO AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

CONFIDENTIAL DAR ES: SALAAM 1091

1. BRITISH HC PHILLIPS HAS SHOWN US COPY OF MALCOLM MACDONALD'S REPORT TO LONDON FOLLOWING HIS DISCUSSION WITH NYERERE OF PM WILSON'S RECENT TRIP TO NIGERIA AND ETHIOPIA. NO BASICALLY NEW THOUGHTS WERE EXCHANGED BUT NYERERE WAS APPARENTLY SINCERELY APPRECIATIVE OF WILSON'S COURTESY IN SENDING MACDONALD TO DAR AND CONVINCED OF PRIME MINISTER'S HONESTY OF PURPOSE IN TRAVELING TO AFRICA.

2. NYERERE STILL FEELS THAT OAU IS POWERLESS TO BRING ABOUT A CEASE FIRE AND SAID THAT ONLY BRITAIN, USSR AND FRANCE COULD FORCE THE TWO SIDES TO CONFERENCE TABLE, URGING THAT QUESTION BE PRESSED AT THE UN. MACDONALD REFERRED TO DIFFICULTY OF DOING SO WITHOUT THE AGREEMENT OF THE NIGERIAN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. NYERERE BELIEVES THAT SOME IMPORTANT OPINION ON BIAFRA SIDE IS READY FOR A SETTLEMENT SHORT OF SECESSION AND DOES NOT RPT NOT RULE OUT THAT OJUKWU HIMSELF MAY BE PREPARED FOR COMPROMISE. WHILE HIS SYMPATHY LIES STRONGLY WITH IBOS HE STILL THINKS THE COMPLETE BREAKUP OF NIGERIA WOULD BE TRAGIC.

GP-3
BURNS

CONFIDENTIAL
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Rm
4-16-69
Salama 1091

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Authority VND 959503
By MNARA Date 10/5/03

5

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

5775

RS/R file

DATE: April 7, 1969

TIME: 12:15 p.m.

PLACE: The Under
Secretary's Office

SUBJECT: The Biafran Situation

PARTICIPANTS: UNITED STATES

DENMARK

Danish Foreign Minister Hartling
Paul Henning Fischer, Permanent
Under Secretary, Danish Foreign
Ministry
Troels Oldenburg, Deputy Under
Secretary, Danish Foreign
Ministry
Danish Ambassador Rønne
Per Fergo, Counselor, Danish
Embassy

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J AF-3 CMS on 4/16/69.
C EUR-2
S/S IO
U/CF US Mission GENEVA
WH AmEmbassy LAGOS

The Foreign Minister said that the overwhelming success of various fund drives in Denmark for Biafran relief shows that the Danish people are very much concerned about the Biafran situation. He asked the Under Secretary to give his evaluation of this situation.

The Under Secretary discussed Mr. Ferguson's recent trip to Europe and Africa. The Under Secretary said that the purpose of Mr. Ferguson's trip was to evaluate the need for relief, the role and administration of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), the role of other parties involved, and the question of expanding the delivery of relief supplies.

EUR/SCAN:PS storing:tk
(Drafting Office and Officer)

FORM DS-1254
2-65

**MICROFILMED
BY S/S: CMS**

Downgraded at 12 year intervals;
not automatically declassified

y of relief supplies.
 PART I of VI DODEN-US
 PART II of VI DEF EUR
 PART III of VI POL 21-14 VIET
 PART IV of VI ECON 3 NORDE

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GROUP 3

TOB23-4 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

0976

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Authority VND 950503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/00

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

UNCLASSIFIED
Classification

PCL 27-14 BIAFRA-
NIGERIA

040092

08-A

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Origin ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS
Info: INFO: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA
LONDON
PARIS
US MISSION GENEVA
USUN
CINGSTRIKE
Amconsul IBADAN
KADUNA

SUBJECT: Nigeria Press Summary - March 28

1. All papers feature beginning Wilson visit. AP London story in Wash Star March 27 quotes sources close to govt saying Wilson to seek bombing halt as step toward ending war, also planned present proposals for extending mercy facilities alleviate civilian starvation, suffering both sides. Wilson prepared agree one exception, bombing of Uli strip. He said in radio interview prior departure he did not think mediation possible at present. If it were, he added, would have to be carried out by Africans through OAU. Said his principal objective gather information and express British anxiety about conditions beseiged Biafra. Wilson has left door open for Biafra visit. Biafran spokesmen first rejected idea, but senior official said Tuesday if it confirmed Wilson wants to visit Biafra he will be received. Biafran statement followed day-long cabinet meeting discussing Wilson trip to Lagos.
2. R.W. Apple in NYTimes says Gowon told Wilson Nigeria would brook no interference in her affairs, said he expected "no dramatic peace initiative"

Drafted by: RLP
AF/P:RLPerkins:mb 3/28/69

Tel. Ext. 2105

Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: RMM/BJC
Nigeria Task Force: Mr. Melbourne

Clearances:

UNCLASSIFIED
Classification

FORM DS-322
8-65

0977

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Authority: VND 959503
By: MMNARA Date: 10/5/03

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

UNCLASSIFIED

Classification

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Origin ACTION: Page 2 of telegram to Amembassy LAGOS

Info: from British as Wilson stood beside him. Gowon asserted Ojukwu had been "considerably assisted by those in Britain and other countries of Western world who either ignorant true facts or conceal their sympathy his political aims under cloak humanitarian concern." He touched tender British nerve in first paragraph unusually political welcoming speech remarking Nigeria was "in throes an internal rebellion similar in nature to that in Rhodesia, which I understand your Govt is equally determined to crush." Gowon praised Wilson for "courageous" efforts maintain "in face of tremendous political odds both at home and abroad" his support for federal cause. Informed sources said Wilson had three-point agenda for talks Gowon: to press for halt in bombing, try alleviate bottleneck in Biafra relief shipments, and gently sound Gowon out on some sort peace effort. But in view Gowon's uncompromising opening remarks, most diplomatic observers doubted PM would make significant progress.

3. Charles Flowers, London correspondent Balt Sun, filed story from Lagos covering much same ground as above. He featured Gowon's thanks to Wilson for flow of needed arms, but said Gowon made it clear he would not appreciate it if Wilson tried to see Ojukwu. Wilson said on arrival he did not come as peace mediator or to meddle in internal affairs. His purpose was learn problems firsthand and see whether food, medical relief to Biafrans and

Drafted by:

Tel. Ext.

Telegraphic transmission and
classification approved by:

Clearances:

UNCLASSIFIED

Classification

FORM DS-322
8-65

0978

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Authority VMD 954/503
By MVA Date 10/5/00

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

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Classification

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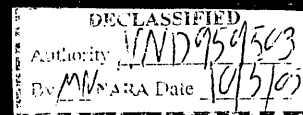
Origin	ACTION: Page 3 of telegram to Amembassy LAGOS
Info:	<p>Nigerians can be made more effective. Also said he wanted work for honorable peace that will allow diversity within the unity of Nigeria.</p> <p>4. Times and Wash Post carry Reuters Moscow story that Soviets in Izvestia article clearly timed coincide Wilson arrival accused Britain and US trying pressure Nigeria into making concessions to Biafra. Article by D. Lozinov, said Russia's firm support for Lagos, including military aid, "does not suit those who would like to hinder efforts fed govt aimed at preserving unity and territorial integrity of country." He said Biafra was "artificial creation and above all the result various machinations by the international monopolies which are used to taking no account of human lives, fate of peoples or frontiers of states when it is question of profits and oil as it is in Nigeria."</p> <p>END</p> <p>ROGERS</p>
Drafted by:	
Tel. Ext.	
Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:	
Clearances:	

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Classification

FORM DS-322
8-65

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State

TELEGRAM

LAGOS 2775
3-28-69

SECRET 640

PAGE 01 LAGOS 02775 282024Z

43
ACTION: AFI 18

INFO: EUR 15, IO 13, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04, CIAE 00, JPM 04,

H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12,

RSR 01, UPW 01, UCF 03, /153 W

126787

R 281600Z MAR 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5722
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
CINCSRIKE
DIA
AMCONSUL KADUNA
AMCONSUL IBADAN

SECRET LAGOS 2775

SUBJ: PROSPECTS FOR ENDING WAR

1. AS WAR IN NIGERIA DRAGS ON ABILITY OF FMG TO BRING IT TO CLOSE MILITARILY IS BEING QUESTIONED.

2. WE BELIEVE THAT FMG HAS MANPOWER AND RESOURCES TO BRING WAR TO SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION BUT FOR VARIOUS REASONS, SOME COMPREHENSIBLE, OTHERS NOT, HAS PERMITTED IT TO DRAG ON.

3. BIAFRANS HAVE RESISTED DOGGEDLY DUE TO:
A. OBUKWU'S TOUGHNESS AND CHARISMATIC LEADERSHIP;
B. WIDESPREAD DESIRE FOR INDEPENDENCE FROM NIGERIA BASED ON FEAR AND PRIDE;

C. FRENCH MATERIAL AND POLITICAL ASSISTANCE;
D. HOPE FOR WIDER FOREIGN POLITICAL INTERVENTION IN FAVOR BIAFRA;

E. FMG SHORTCOMINGS.

4. ON FIG SIDE, FAILURE TO MAKE FINAL PUSH ATTRIBUTABLE

SECRET

0980

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 9503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/03



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET

PAGE 02: LAGOS 02775: 282024Z.

TO: NUMBER OF FACTORS, INCLUDING:

- A. OBSESSION WITH NEED FOR OVERWHELMING FIREPOWER: SUPERIORITY AND CONSEQUENT ENORMOUS AMMUNITION REQUIREMENTS;
- B. INEFFICIENT AND DISORDERLY LOGISTICAL PRACTICES;
- C. LACK OF COORDINATION AMONG DIVISION COMMANDERS: BECAUSE OF LACK OF DIRECTION FROM ABOVE, RIVALRY (SOME QUALIFIED OBSERVERS BELIEVE, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT C.O. OF 1ST DIV., HARUNA, COULD TAKE ULI BUT THAT C.O. 3RD DIV., ADEKUNLE, INSISTS THIS HIS PREROGATIVE), POOR COMMUNICATIONS, POOR LEADERSHIP, ETC.;
- D. RELUCTANCE OF GOWON AND ADVISERS TO ORDER FINAL PUSH UNTIL OTHER AVENUES EXPLORED MINUTELY. GOWON IS LEANING OVER BACKWARD TO AVOID SPILLING ANY MORE BLOOD THAN NECESSARY, AND HE CONTINUES TO HOPE IBOS WILL SEE FUTILITY OF FURTHER RESISTANCE. ALL-OUT OFFENSIVE AGAINST STRONGLY PREPARED BIAFRAN REDOUBT WOULD ALSO BE COSTLY TO FMG FORCES;
- E. INADEQUATELY TRAINED AND POORLY MOTIVATED TROOPS AS EVIDENCED BY DESERTIONS, ETC.

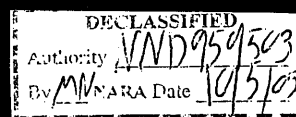
5. DESPITE THIS DISMAL PICTURE, WE BELIEVE THAT FACTOR A. IN PARA 4 ABOVE HAS BEEN LARGELY OVERCOME AND THAT C. IS IMPROVING; THAT GOWON DESPITE HIS CONCERN WILL RELUCTANTLY ALLOW HIS FIELD COMMANDERS TO GO FOR BROKE WHEN THE TIME IS RIGHT (FACTOR D.); THAT BALANCE IS HEAVILY ON FMG SIDE; AND THAT FMG SHOULD WIN THROUGH SHEER MANPOWER AND FIREPOWER. BIAFRANS ARE MUCH BETTER MOTIVATED, BUT THIS ALONE UNLIKELY REDRESS BALANCE. THEY ARE NOT MUCH IF AT ALL BETTER LED. THEIR LOGISTICS ARE ALSO POOR, AND THEIR SUPPLIES BARELY ADEQUATE. ONE CONCERTED FMG PUSH ON ULI-IBIALA AIRSTRIP COULD GREATLY REDUCE ARMS FLOW TO BIAFRA. COORDINATED OFFENSIVES OF THREE FMG DIVISIONS WOULD BE DIFFICULT IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE FOR BIAFRANS TO WITHSTAND.

6. THERE ARE CONFLICTING IDEAS ON WHETHER QTE FINAL PUSH UNQTE IS NOW OR ABOUT TO BEGIN. IT DOES APPEAR THAT THERE IS A STEPPING UP OF ACTIVITY IN BOTH 1ST AND 2ND DIVISION AREAS, BUT WE ARE RESERVING JUDGMENT ON WHETHER ALL STOPS ARE FINALLY BEING PULLED OUT.

7. FRENCH SUPPLIES PLUS A LIMITED AMOUNT OF CHICOM

SECRET

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET

PAGE 03 LAGOS 02775 282024Z

MATERIAL VIA TANZANIA (AND FMG INEPTNESS) HAVE KEPT
BIAFRA GOING FOR THE PAST MONTHS. THE FRENCH MAY WELL
HAVE TO FACE ANOTHER MOMENT OF TRUTH AND DECIDE WHAT
TO DO IF BIOHITVEEMS ABOUT TO GO UNDER. THERE IS ALSO
THE POSSIBILITY THAT THEY MAY REEXAMINE THEIR POLICY
IF BIAFRA CONTINUES TO HOLD OUT, OF COURSE.
GP-3 MATHEWS.

SECRET

0982

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MMNARA
Date	10/5/05

37



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State XR POL 15-1 In-CST
TELEGRAM

CONFIDENTIAL 424

PAGE 01 ABIDJA 00826 261810Z

47
ACTION SS 70

INFO CIAE 00,1070 W

110328

R 251617Z MAR 69
FM AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3776
INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L ABIDJAN 826

L I M D I S
REF/ PARIS 4213-nc

SUBJ: HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY VIEWS ON NIGERIA/BIAFRA

1. AM UNABLE DETECT SLIGHTEST EVOLUTION IN HOUPHOUET'S THINKING ON NIGERIA SINCE LAST SPRING.
 2. HE HAS ALWAYS TENDED UNDERESTIMATE SOVIET ANGLE ON ARMS SUPPLY. MOVE TOWARD ARMS EMBARGO WITHOUT SOVIET PARTICIPATION WOULD STRAIN RELATIONS OF WESTERN POWERS WITH FMG IN WAY THAT WOULD AUTOMATICALLY ENHANCE POSITION OF BIAFRA.
 3. SINCE HE IS PARTISAN HOUPHOUET UNLIKELY DEVELOP VIABLE FORMULA FOR MEDIATION, BUT HIS PRESENCE AT MONROVIA WOULD CLEARLY IMPROVE CHANCES OF GETTING SOME KIND OF TALKS STARTED.
- MORGAN

Abidjan 826
3-25-69

(2)

CONFIDENTIAL
32

0983

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Authority VMD 954503
By MNA Date 10/5/03

L I M D I S
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NEA 8

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AA/EA 3
AA/NESA 2

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Authority VIND 954/503
By M/MARA Date 10/5/02

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

AIRGRAM

POL 2 7-14 BIAFRA
NIGERIA
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A-124
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HANDLING INDICATOR

TO : Department of State

INFO: Addis Ababa, Monrovia, Kinshasa, Yaounde, Accra, Niamey,
London, Paris Brussels, The Hague, Luxembourg, Bonn,
Rome, Ibadan, Kaduna, USUN, Geneva

FROM : Amembassy LAGOS

DATE: March 15, 1969

SUBJECT: FMG Reaction to Ojukwu's Appeal to Common Market Nations
for Support of Thirty Day Truce.

REF :

Attached are the text of the FMG's statement on Ojukwu's appeal to the
six Common Market nations asking their support for arranging a thirty
day truce in the Nigerian civil war and a British High Commission
Lagos (protect) report on conversations about the proposal with the
Deputy Permanent Secretary of the Federal Ministry of External Affairs,
Edward O. Enahoro.

MATHEWS

Enclosures:

1. Text of FMG official statement commenting on truce proposal
by Ojukwu. (Unclassified)
2. British High Commission Lagos to Foreign Office London -
Nigeria: Truce Proposal by Ojukwu. (Confidential)

Group 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading
and declassification
CONFIDENTIAL

FORM
4-62 DS-323

(with Unclassified Enclosure)

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Drafted by:
POL:GFC/kmc 3-15-69
Clearances:

Contents and Classification Approved by:
POL:EERamsaur

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Authority VMD 954503
By MW/ARA Date 10/5/05

Enclosure 1 to
Lagos A-124

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BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED

Text of FMG Official Statement Commenting on Truce Proposal by Ojukwu

Ojukwu's appeal to Common Market countries for support for a 30-day truce followed by a ceasefire and negotiations is obviously directed at today's impending debate in British House of Commons. There is nothing new in these proposals which clearly show once more Mr. Ojukwu's insincerity in using for political purposes the humanitarian interest being shown abroad.

The FMG is surprised that the six Common Market countries have taken the action of applying to U.N. Secretary-General without first appealing direct to our Government with their reasons for supporting Ojukwu's request. Federal Government deplores their internationalising Nigeria's internal affairs. Mr. Ojukwu is fully aware of the channel of contact through Emperor Haile Selassie I of Ethiopia and has only to send a message to His Imperial Majesty as Chairman of the OAU Consultative Mission if he wishes to negotiate.

Federal Government has always indicated that Nigeria will attend talks at any time without preconditions but that the terms for a final settlement are that the rebels must first renounce secession. There can be no point in attending talks at which the rebels make the precondition that the talks must be on the basis of granting independence or sovereignty to their so-called Biafra. Furthermore it is surprising that the Common Market countries in transmitting Mr. Ojukwu's appeal to U.N. Secretary-General either cannot or will not see that by demanding a 30-day truce or ceasefire before negotiations he is in effect imposing a precondition before talks. Federal Government's view, repeatedly emphasized, is that a truce or ceasefire must result from, and not precede, negotiations. For instance what basis can there be for a truce or ceasefire to be granted if Mr. Ojukwu does not first indicate that he is prepared to accept a one-Nigeria solution?

The Common Market countries have always announced that their sole interest in this war is humanitarian but they have so far shown no interest in the Obilagu airlift proposal while encouraging the black market arms operations by rebel agents. In assisting the rebels to put pressure on the British Parliament in the debate on British sale of arms to Nigeria the Common Market countries cannot pretend to be neutral or solely humanitarian. The Federal Government regards the action of the Common Market countries as politically motivated and therefore an unwarranted interference in Nigeria's internal affairs to which it takes strong objection.

END UNCLASSIFIED

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Authority	VND 95/503
By	MMNARA Date 10/5/00

Enclosure 2 to
Lagos A-124

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British High Commission Lagos to the Foreign Office London-
Nigeria: Truce Proposal by Ojukwu

Enahoro (MEA) informed member of my staff on morning 13 that Ogbu (Nigerian Permanent Representative at UN) had been asked to ascertain FMG's reactions to application made by EEC countries to U Thant at request of Ojukwu for 30 (thirty) day truce.

MEA had heard from AFP that application to U Thant referred to a 30 (thirty) day truce, to be followed by a ceasefire to be followed in turn by negotiations.

Enahoro who referred to recent decision of EEC Council to offer 15,000 tons of food grains for use in Biafra only, i.e. an offer from which FMG was specifically excluded, complained that this seemed to be another French-inspired move and one calculated to throw spanner into today's Parliamentary debate.

Enahoro said a reply was being sent to Ogbu to effect that proposal was unacceptable to FMG. The gist of the reply to Ogbu is being published as an official statement tonight (text in MIFT).

Whilst Enahoro appreciated that it might be difficult for a considered statement to be made about a matter, precise details of which are not fully known nor studied, he expressed hope that if matter was raised during today's debate Government spokesman would take critical line and re-emphasize HMG's support of FMG's own stand on the question of negotiations/mediation.

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By	MMNARA
Date	10/5/03

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 01759 261147Z

21
ACTION AF 18

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, NSAE 00, NSCE 00, SSO 00, USIE 00,
CCO 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20,
UPW 01, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, SCSE 00, SCA 01, RSR 01, 134 W
065518

P 260957Z FEB 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5196
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION GENEVA
USUN NEW YORK 871
CINCSTRIKE/CINCMEAFSA UNN

UNCLAS LAGOS 1759

SUBJECT: HOLIDAY TRUCE IN NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR

1. FMG ISSUED PRESS RELEASE LATE FEBRUARY 25 DECLARING THAT FMG QTE
HAS
DECLARED A FORTY-EIGHT HOUR UNILATERAL TRUCE WITH EFFECT FROM MIDNIGHT
TODAY, TUESDAY FEBRUARY 25, IN OBSERVANCE OF EID-EL-KABIR FESTIVAL.
DURING
PERIOD OF TRUCE, FEDERAL TROOPS WILL ONLY FIRE WHEN ATTACKED UNQTE
2. NO RPT NO REACTION YET FROM REBELS. MATHEWS

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Authority VND 959503
By MNARA Date 10/5/05

Approved by:

AF - Mr. Palmer
U - Mr. Ruser
H - Mr. Leahy
February, 1969

CONFIDENTIAL

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3248

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Memorandum of Conversation

DATE: February 25, 1969
Under Secretary's Office
Time: 4:00 P.M.

SUBJECT: Observations of Congressmen Diggs and
Burke on Visit to Nigeria and Biafra

PARTICIPANTS: Acting Secretary Richardson
Mr. Joseph Palmer 2nd - Assistant Secretary, AF
Mr. Roy M. Melbourne - Country Director, AF/W
Mr. John S. Leahy - Congressional Travel, H
Mr. Claus W. Ruser - Deputy Staff Director, USC

Congressman Charles C. Diggs, Jr. (D-Michigan)
Congressman J. Herbert Burke (R-Florida)
Mr. Melvin O. Benson, Staff Consultant

COPIES TO: S S/S AF-4 Amembassy LAGOS
U D IO U/CF
J INR/OD H Amembassy MONROVIA
C S/P AID-2 Amembassy ADDIS ABABA

Mr. Diggs said that the trip to Nigeria and Biafra had been useful in helping him and Mr. Burke assess the situation. Military considerations still were the stumbling block to any efforts to provide effective relief.

Mr. Diggs believed both Ojukwu and Gowon, because of pressures operating on each side, wished some kind of negotiated political settlement. He had not gone beyond encouraging them toward this. Ojukwu was more specific than Gowon. Ojukwu thought the U.S., uninvolved and with a new Administration, was in a unique position to get the parties together. He had suggested that the U.S. seek to have a third party encourage both sides to a peace settlement, not simply a truce. Ojukwu's nomination for the third party was the Emperor of Ethiopia and President Tubman of Liberia, acting jointly but as individuals and without any OAU connotation. Gowon talked only generally to the effect that the CAU might contribute to a settlement. Mr. Diggs believed Gowon and his regime could be in serious trouble, even threatened by a coup, if the war were not settled within the next six months.

12/21/69 Rm
AF/W: R. Melbourne: emb
(Drafting Office and Officer)

FORM DS-1254
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BY S/S: CMS

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MR POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

MR POL 27-9 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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By MNARA Date 10/3/05



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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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CONFIDENTIAL 961

PAGE 01 GENEVA 00484 191811Z

49
ACTION IO 15

INFO AF 12,ARA 08,EA 10,EUR 15,NEA 13,RSC 01,SR 01,ORM 03,AID 28,

SCS 04,SCA 01,CIAE 00,DODE 00,JPM 04,H 02,INR 07,L 03,NSA 00,

NSC 10,P 04,SP 02,SS 20,USIA 12,RSR 01,176 W
025989

R 191630Z FEB 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 362
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 00484

SUBJECT: NIGERIA IN UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (HRC)

1. NY LAWYER PAUL O'DWYER PHONED HAUSER, US REP ON HRC, TWICE FEB. 18 FROM DUBLIN RE HIS INTENTION ATTEMPT PROMOTE HRC CALL FOR CEASEFIRE IN NIGERIA/BAIAFRA. (SEE UPI REPORT RE O'DWYER STATEMENT SHANNON AIRPORT). WHEN TOLD QUESTION NOT ON AGENDA HE ASKED US REQUEST IT BE ADDED. HAUSER REACTED NEGATIVELY AND REFERRED TO AFRICAN OPPOSITION AND INAPPROPRIATENESS HRC DISCUSSION POLITICAL ASPECTS NIGERIAN CONFLICT. ASSUME IN ABSENCE US SUPPORT HE MAY SEEK PERSUADE SOME OTHER DEL REQUEST AGENDA ITEM. WE CONSIDER IT MOST UNLIKELY HE WOULD SUCCEED IN SUCH EFFORT.

2. IN RESPONSE O'DWYER INQUIRY HOW NGO COULD BE HEARD IN HRC, HAUSER EXPLAINED PROCEDURE IN TERMS DESIGNED STRESS COMPLEXITIES AND EMPHASIZED LIKELIHOOD REQUEST WOULD NOT BE GRANTED FOR THIS PURPOSE. CLOSE FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN O'DWYER AND SEAN MCBRIDE OF INTERNATL COMMISSION OF JURISTS SUGGEST POSSIBILITY O'DWYER MAY INTEND SEEK USE ICJ AS VEHICLE OBTAIN HEARING IN HRC.

3. O'DWYER EXPECTED ARRIVE GENEVA APPROXIMATELY THIS WEEKEND ALTHOUGH HRC DEL AND MISSION WILL DO BEST DISCOURAGE HIM FROM PURSUING PLANS. IT EVIDENT HE NOT LIKELY BE DISSUADED. IN EVENT FAILURE OBTAIN HEARING IN HRC ANTICIPATE HE WILL CALL PRESS CON

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

50C 14-3 ECOSOC
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NIGERIA

CONFIDENTIAL 942

PAGE 01 GENEVA 00485 191720Z

50
ACTION L 03

INFO IO 13, AF 12, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, EUR 15, AID 28, CIAE 00,

DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02,

SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, /143 W

025721

R 191620Z FEB 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 363

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 485

REF: GENEVA 484

SEAN MACBRIDE, SECGEN INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS
TELLS ME PAUL O'DWYER PHONED HIM YESTERDAY FROM LONDON
TO URGE ICJ ASSIST IN GETTING HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION TO
CONSIDER PLIGHT OF BIAFRANS. MACBRIDE EXPLAINED TO
O'DWYER WHY ICJ HAS NOT BECOME INVOLVED IN NIGERIA-BIAFRA
SITUATION. O'DWYER COMING TO GENEVA ANYWAY TO TRY TO
GET BIAFRA ITEM ON AGENDA HRC.
TUBBY

GENEVA-485
2-19-69

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By MNA Date 10/5/03

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 01463 181231Z

11
ACTION AF 18

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAF 00,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03,

RSR 01, /144 W

017419

P R 181015Z FEB 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5024
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NY
AMCONSUL IBADAN
AMCONSUL KADUNA

UNCLAS LAGOS 1463

SUBJECT: FMG REPLY TO AZIKIWE PRESS PROPOSAL

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF FMG PRESS RELEASE, UNNECESSARY
WORDS OMITTED:

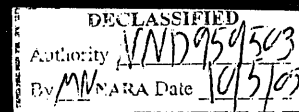
BEGIN TEXT

2. FMG NOTES NEW INITIATIVE CREDITED TO DR. AZIKIWE BUT
REGRETS IT DOES NOT IMPROVE CHANCES OF ACHIEVING LASTING
PEACE IN NIGERIA.

3. PROPOSALS ARE BASICALLY SAME AS THOSE PUT FORWARD BY
SECESSIONIST LEADERS AT ADDIS ABABA AND EARLIER PEACE TALKS.
THEY CONTAIN SEVERAL UNACCEPTABLE FEATURES, SUCH AS CONTEMPTUOUS
REJECTION OF OAU EFFORTS AND ATTEMPT TO INVOLVE THE UNITED

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 01463 181231Z

NATIONS AND UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN THE NIGERIAN CRISIS,
WHICH IS STRICTLY INTERNAL AFFAIR OF NIGERIA.

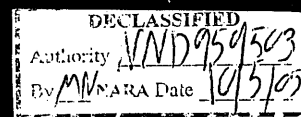
4. GOVERNMENT DEPLORES ANY MOVES WHICH WOULD IN EFFECT
ENCOURAGE REBEL LEADERS TO CONTINUE TO FIGHT. GOVERNMENT
HOWEVER WELCOMES DR. AZIKIWE'S RECOGNITION OF REALITY OF
PRESENT TWELVE-STATE STRUCTURE OF THE COUNTRY AS
PROMULGATED IN MAY 1967 AND HIS ADMISSION THAT WHAT
REMAINS OF THE FORMER EASTERN REGION IS NOT VIABLE AS AN
INDEPENDENT STATE. THERE CAN BE NO QUESTION OF CONSTITUTIONAL
OR POLITICAL ARRANGEMENTS BASED ON FORMER FOUR REGIONS
OF NIGERIA OR DISSOLVED LEGISLATIVE BODIES.

5. AT THIS STAGE OF CRISIS, FMG APPEALS TO ALL WELL-MEANING
IBO LEADERS TO URGE SECESSIONIST LEADERS TO AGREE
TO END WAR AND SUFFERINGS OF INNOCENT CIVILIANS,
BY ACCEPTING RE-INTEGRATION INTO A UNITED NIGERIA.

6. FMG REMAINS CONVINCED THAT OAU PEACE EFFORTS CAN SUCCEED ONCE
REBEL LEADERSHIP FACE REALITIES AND DECIDE GIVE UP SECESSION.
OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE HAS NOT SUCCEEDED SO FAR, BECAUSE
OF INTRANSIGENCE OF SECESSIONIST LEADERS. AZIKIWE KNOWS THIS
TOO WELL FROM HIS OWN PERSONAL EXPERIENCE. END TEXT
MATHEWS

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

*Addis Ababa 669
2-15-69*

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PAGE 01 ADDIS 00662 151057Z

19
ACTION SS 70

INFO SSO 00, /070 W 004869

P R 150840Z FEB 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 8461

S E C R E T ADDIS ABABA 0662

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By MNARA Date 10/5/03

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EUR 10 10
NEA 8

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Functional

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OTHER AGENCIES

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

Pol 27-14 Biafra -

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Nigeria

PAGE 01 LONDON 01242 141241Z

20
ACTION SS 70

INFO /070 W

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P R 141210Z FEB 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8821
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
USUN 1592

S E C R E T LONDON 1242

LIMDIS/NOFORN

REF: LONDON 793

1. FORMER PRESIDENT AZIKIWE HAS PHONED TO TELL US HE WILL MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENT SUNDAY NIGHT (FEB 16) IN OXFORD CALLING FOR PEACE IN NIGERIA. HE DID NOT GO INTO DETAILS OVER TELEPHONE BUT SAID HIS PROPOSALS WOULD RESEMBLE THOSE DISCUSSED WITH US EARLIER (REFTEL). DEPT WILL RECALL AT THAT TIME AZIKIWE FAVORED AMERICAN INITIATIVE TO BRING NIGERIAN CONFLICT BEFORE SECURITY COUNCIL.

2. AZIKIWE IS OBVIOUSLY INTERESTED IN PROMOTING WIDEST POSSIBLE CIRCULATION OF HIS PROPOSALS. HE SAID HE WOULD GIVE TEXT TO PRESS, PROBABLY SUNDAY, WITH EMBARGO. HE HAS PROMISED US ADVANCE COPY SAT. AFTERNOON. WE WILL CABLE IT TO DEPT ON RECEIPT. HIS STATEMENT IS LIKELY TO MAKE SIGNIFICANT SPLASH HERE AND IF HE CALLS ON US TO INTERVENE WE CAN EXPECT PRESS QUERIES.
BRUCE

*London - 1242
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MilRep 3
Summary 3
Task Force 3

AF5 5
ARA 9 5
EA 11 5
EUR 10 5
NEA 8 5

ACDA 5
AID/EXSEC 3
AA/AFR 2
AA/VN 2
AA/EA 3
AA/NEA 2

Functional

Principals

ES 2 2
S 2
U 2
J2 2

CU 2
E 2 2
H 2
IGA 2
INR 6 2
IO 4 2
L 2 2
O 3 2

PC 2
VP 2

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S/AH 3 1

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OC 1
SY 1
WLG 1

AEC 3
AGR 3
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JUS
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S/FW
S/PM
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Poh 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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Department of State **TELEGRAM**
Poh 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

CONFIDENTIAL 376

PAGE 01 PARIS 02174 131928Z

87

ACTION SS 70

INFO /070 W

123320

R 131850Z FEB 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1022
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

C O N F I D E N T I A L PARIS 2174

LIMDIS

SUBJECT: FRENCH VIEWS ON NIGERIA

(3) 1. EMBOFF DISCUSSED BIAFRA WITH GUI DESK OFFICER FOR NIGERIA (PIERRET) FEB 12. PIERRET SAID THAT HE IS WORRIED THAT BIAFRA WILL NOT BE ABLE WITHSTAND MASSIVE FMG MILITARY PUSH WHICH RECENTLY BEGAN AND IS EXPECTED LAST UNTIL ONSET RAINY SEASON IN TWO MONTHS. PIERRET ADDED THAT RECENT REPORTS OF BIAFRAN MILITARY EFFECTIVENESS HAVE BEEN SOMEWHAT DISCOURAGING, ESPECIALLY IN GENERAL AREA OF PORT HARCOURT WHERE FRENCH HAD EXPECTED MUCH MORE EFFECTIVE GUERILLA OPERATION. SERIOUS DANGER TO BIAFRA LIKELY COME FROM NORTH, WITH LARGE, FMG UNITS BACKED BY ARMOR BEGINNING TO SOUTH FROM AROUND ENUGU AND WEST FROM AROUND ONITSH. FMG MIGHT SUCCEED IN IMPLEMENTING PINCERS MOVEMENT, CUTTING OFF AIRFIELDS AT ULI AND AWGU.

2. CONCERNING OCAM PEACE INITIATIVE, PIERRET SAID THINGS SEEM STALLED AT MOMENT WHERE LAGOS IS CONCERNED SINCE EMPHASIS IS ON MEETING OF OAU COMMITTEE. DIROI, MOBUTU AND AHIDJO WHO ARE THREE OCAM CANDIDATES FOR MEETING WITH GOWON ARE ALL MEMBERS OF OAU COMMITTEE AND QUAI THINKS ALL THREE WILL

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75



POL 7 THE CONGO
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KN POL 27-14 BIAPRA-NIGEMA

KN POL 3 OCAM
CONFIDENTIAL 178

KINSHASA 911
2-12-69

PAGE 01 KINSHA 00911 121633Z

47
ACTION: AFI 18

INFO: EUR 15, CIAE 00, OODE 00, UPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SAH 02, IO 13, AID 28, RSR 01, 142, 115036

R 121140Z FEB 69
FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 302
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY LONDON

CONFIDENTIAL KINSHASA 0911

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN REACTION TO POSSIBLE MOBUTU VISIT

1. I ASKED NIGERIAN CHARGE ABIOLA HOW LAGOS HAD REACTED TO IDEA OF MOBUTU PLAYING ROLE IN OCAM PEACE MAKING EFFORTS. HE HAD REPORTED TO LAGOS THAT MOBUTU MIGHT BECOME INVOLVED AFTER CHAD'S PRESIDENT HAD SAID SO TO REPORTERS AT KINSHASA AIRPORT ON LAST DAY OF OCAM SUMMIT CONFERENCE.

2. ABIOLA SAID THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WILL BE HAPPY TO TREAT WITH MOBUTU BECAUSE THE CONGO IS MEMBER OF OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE ON NIGERIA, AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS PLEDGED TO KEEP COMMITTEE FULLY INFORMED ON DEVELOPMENTS IN THE CIVIL WAR. HE SAID THAT DESPITE CONTRETEMPS OF LAST APRIL, GOMONI WILL BE NICE TO MOBUTU BECAUSE GTE NIGERIA CANNOT AFFORD TO ANTAGONIZE ANYBODY RIGHT NOW. UNOTEL COMEN.

CONFIDENTIAL 32

6

0999

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 095

PAGE 01 LAGOS 01024 051528Z

52
ACTION AF 18

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, AID 28, SAH 02, SRI 01, ORM 03, SCA 01, SCS 04, CIAE 00,

DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02,

SS: 20, USIA 12, ACDA 16, RSR 01, /167 W

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R 051032Z FEB 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4799
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
USMISSION GENEVA
AMCONSUL KADUNA
AMCONSUL IBADAN
STATE GRNC

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 1024

NOFORN

SUBJ: NIGERIA: PEACE NEGOTIATIONS: RELATIONS WITH GHANA

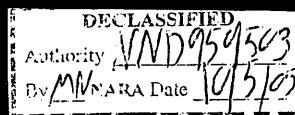
REF: LAGOS 995, 15711 (NOTAL)

1. FOLLOWING IS EXTRACT FROM CANADIAN TELEGRAM REPORTING
CONVERSATION BETWEEN HICOMER AND COMEXTAFF ARIKPO:

2. QUOTE ON PEACE NEGOTIATIONS ARIKPO EXPECTED OAU
CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE TO MEET IN MONROVIA WITHIN MTH.
HE SAID FMG WOULD BE HAPPY TO MEET OCAM-SPONSORED PEACE
MISSION CONSISTING OF PRESIDENTS DIORI AND MOBUTU BUT

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1000





Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LAGOS 01024 051528Z

PREFERRED MORE REP OAU ASSISTANCE. ADMIRAL WEY FMG
NAVY HEAD DISCUSSED FORTHCOMING OAU MTG IN ACCRA FEB 3
WITH ANKRAH (MAIN INCENTIVE FOR WEY'S VISIT HOWEVER
ARIKPO INDICATED WAS DETERIORATION IN GHANA-NIGERIA
RELATIONS RESULTING FROM NATL LIBERATION COUNCIL DECREE
LIMITING SCOPE FOR FOREIGNERS IN RETAIL TRADE IN
GHANA. ACCORDING TO PRESS HERE UP TO ONE MILLION
NIGERIANS IN GHANA WILL BE AFFECTED ADVERSELY). UNQTE
GP-3 MATHEWS

CONFIDENTIAL

1001

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POL 7 NIGERIA
POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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CONFIDENTIAL 872

PAGE 01 LAGOS 00995 042204Z

85
ACTION AF 18

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, AID 28, SAH 02, ORM 03, SR 01, SCS 04, SCA 01, ACDA 16,

CIAE 00, DODE 00, JPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01, /167 W

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R 041530Z FEB 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4783
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUBUMBASHI
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AMEMBASSY TANANARIVE
USMISSION USUN
AMCONSUL IBADAN
AMCONSUL KADUNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 995

SUBJECT : NIGERIAN MISSION TO ACCRA

1. FMG SENT SIX MAN DELEGATION TO ACCRA FEB 3. MISSION
HEADED BY REAR ADMIRAL WEY AND INCLUDES PERMSEC MINEXTAFF
BABA GANA, HAMZAT AHMADU FROM STCATE HOUSE COL. BISALLA,
MILLITCRY SECRETARY SUPREME HEADQUARTERS AND EXTAF
OFFICIALS. WEY REPORTEDLY DEPLORED FRENCH AID TO REBELS
BUT SAID HE GLAD GOF HAD NOT FORMALLY RECOGNIZED BIAFRA.

2. WEY QUOTED ON ACCRA RADIO AS SAYING FMG NOT HAPPY
WITH DAHOMEAN AGREEMENT PERMIT ICRC FLIGHTS TO BIAFRA.
IN THINLY VEILED WARNING HE REPORTEDLY SAID THAT WHILE
DAHOMAY FREE TO ACT AS SHE WISHES QTE FMG WILL SHOW
ITS DISPLEASURE IF NEED ARISES UNQTE.

CONFIDENTIAL

48

1002

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

25 POL 3 OCAM
VN POL 27-14 BIAPRA

CONFIDENTIAL 950 NIGERIA

PAGE 01 KINSHA 00703 032011Z

50
ACTION AF 18

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, USIE 00, SS 20, GPM 04, NSC 10, CIAE 00, DODE 00, INR 07,

NSAE 00, P 04, RSC 01, RSR 01, /093 W

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R 031720Z FEB 69
FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 220
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY COTONOU
AMEMBASSY FORT LAMY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

C O N F I D E N T I A L KINSHASA 0703

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SUBJ: OCAM PEACE INITIATIVE ON NIGERIA

BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED

1. CONGOLESE PRESS AGENCY (ACP) TODAY CARRIED STATEMENTS MADE BY CHADIAN PRESIDENT TOMBALBAYE AT KINSHASA AIRPORT PRIOR HIS DEPARTURE MORNING FEBRUARY ONE FOR FT. LAMY. ON NIGERIA, TOMBALBAYE REPORTEDLY SAID OCAM SUMMIT PARTICIPANTS HAD CHARGED PRESIDENTS MOBUTU AND DIORI WITH TASK OF CONTACTING LEADERS OF OPPOSING SIDES IN EFFORT TO BRING THEM TOGETHER. ACCORDING TO TOMBALBAYE, MEETINGS WOULD TAKE PLACE IN "FRIENDLY COUNTRY".

2. COMMENT: SURPRISINGLY, NEWS OF IMPORTANT ROLE TO BE PLAYED BY MOBUTU ON AFRICAN STAGE RECEIVED ONLY LOWEST KEY TREATMENT BY ACP AND NONE AT ALL IN TODAY'S KINSHASA PRESS. SUGGESTS TOMBALBAYE MAY HAVE SPOKEN OUT OF TURN OR THAT HE IN FACT MISQUOTED BY ACP. IF INDEED MOBUTU WAS OCAM CHIEFS' CHOICE FOR THIS TASK, HIS

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Pol 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LONDON 00843 021950Z

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INFO /030 W

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R 311809Z JAN 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
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S E C R E T L O N D O N 843

EXDIS

NOFORN

SUBJ: NIGERIA; ROGER FISHER PROPOSAL FOR PEACE TALKS

1. COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT'S A.L. ADU (DEPUTY SYG) AND HENSLIFY (SPECIAL ASST TO SYG) HAVE INFORMED US ON CONFIDENTIAL BASIS OF PROPOSALS RECENTLY PUT FORWARD BY PROFESSOR ROGER FISHER OF HARVARD LAW SCHOOL TO BRING ABOUT SUPERVISED TRUCE, ARMS LIMITATION AND PEACE TALKS IN NIGERIA. FISHER'S PROPOSALS, WHICH REPRESENT ATTEMPT TO APPLY HIS THEORIES OF "CONFLICT MANAGEMENT" TO NIGERIA, WERE DISCUSSED INFORMALLY WITH FMG AND BIAFRAN REPS IN CLOSING DAYS OF COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE THROUGH GOOD OFFICES OF ARNOLD SMITH.

2. SINCE FISHER ENVISAGES TRUCE TO BE FOLLOWED BY PEACE TALKS AND THEREBY SEEMS TO ACCEPT BIAFRAN ORDER OF PRIORITIES, IT IS NOT PARTICULARLY SURPRISING THAT WHILE NIGERIANS WERE COOL TO PROPOSALS INITIAL BIAFRAN REACTION WAS RECEPTIVE. DESPITE THEIR INTEREST, BIAFRANS WANTED TO BE SURE THAT FISHER'S INITIATIVE HAD SOME OFFICIAL STANDING BEFORE COMMITTING THEMSELVES. CONSEQUENTLY KOGBARA, BIAFRAN REP IN LONDON, TRIED TO CONVINCE ARNOLD SMITH THAT PROPOSALS WOULD HAVE BETTER CHANCE OF ACCEPTANCE IF SMITH WOULD GO TO UMUAHIA TO DISCUSS THEM WITH OJUKWU. SMITH DISCOURAGED THIS SUGGESTION IN VIEW STRENUOUS FMG OBJECTIONS IN PAST TO HIS TRAVELLING TO BIAFRA. AT PRESENT, THEREFORE, FISHER PROPOSAL IS DORMANT. PRELIMINARY NIGERIAN REACTION IS NEGATIVE, PRELIMINARY BIAFRAN

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PAGE 02 LONDON 00843 021950Z

REACTION POSITIVE, AND NEITHER SIDE HAS REVEALED SERIOUS INTEREST IN FOLLOWING IT UP.

3. ADU AND HENSLEY HAVE SHOWN US DOCUMENTS DRAFTED BY FISHER, INCLUDING ANALYSES OF NIGERIAN AND BIAFRAN POSITIONS BEFORE AND AFTER HYPOTHETICAL TRUCE, AND DRAFT LETTERS TO ARNOLD SMITH ACCEPTING LIMITED TRUCE, VARIATIONS OF WHICH FISHER BELIEVES TWO SIDES COULD SIGN WITHOUT DAMAGING THEIR VITAL INTERESTS. ESSENCE OF HIS APPROACH IS TO ISOLATE OVERLAPPING AREAS OF AGREEMENT, OR POTENTIAL AGREEMENT, IN POSITIONS OF PARTIES TO CONFLICT. BY MEANS OF THIS PROCESS OF RATIOCINATION, AND SELF-ADMITTEDLY WITHOUT FIRST-HAND KNOWLEDGE OF NIGERIAN SITUATION, FISHER HOPES TO BRING BELLIGERENTS TOGETHER AT PEACE TABLE WITHOUT LOSS OF FACE OR BARGAINING POSITION.

4. TWO DRAFT LETTERS TO SMITH EMBODY FUNDAMENTALS OF FISHER PROPOSAL. IN THESE, AFTER RESTATING THEIR RESPECTIVE AIMS OF ONE NIGERIA AND SOVEREIGN BIAFRA, GOWON AND OJUKWU WOULD ASK SYG, ON THEIR BEHALF, TO ARRANGE (A) THREE-MONTH TRUCE, (B) INTERNATIONAL FORCE, WITH SPECIFIC RESPONSIBILITIES, TO ENFORCE IT, AND (C) TALKS LEADING TO POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. AMONG RESPONSIBILITIES OF INTERNATIONAL FORCE WOULD BE (I) ESTABLISHMENT OF TRUCE LINE, (II) INSPECTION OF POW'S, (III) FACILITATION OF MOVEMENT OF FOOD AND MEDICINE AND INSPECTION OF SUPPLIES TO AVOID SUSPICION OF POISONING, (IV) MONITORING OF VOLUNTARY ARMS EMBARGO AT POINTS OF RECEPTION, AND (V) PREVENTION OF INCIDENTS. IN CONNECTION WITH (IV), DRAFT LETTERS TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THAT TOTAL EMBARGO WOULD BE IMPRACTICAL AND SPEAK OF STOCKPILES OF NORMALLY SUPPLIED MILITARY ITEMS.

5. ACCORDING TO ADU AND HENSLEY, FISHER DOES NOT ATTEMPT TO PREJUDGE TYPE OF SETTLEMENT THAT MIGHT EMERGE FROM PEACE TALKS. THERE WOULD APPARENTLY BE NO FORMAL AGENDA, AND BOTH SIDES WOULD BE FREE TO INTRODUCE ANYTHING THEY WANTED TO DISCUSS. FISHER INDICATED TO SECRETARIAT THAT IN HIS MIND QUESTION OF ONE NIGERIA SHOULD BE DISCUSSED FIRST, BUT THIS IS NOT MADE CLEAR IN DRAFT LETTERS AND MAY NOT HAVE BEEN MENTIONED BY FISHER IN HIS TALK WITH BIAFRANS.

6. ANOTHER POINT IS RELEVANT. FISHER EVIDENTLY DISCUSSED HIS GENERAL CONCEPT OF "CONFLICT MANAGEMENT" WITH BOTH SIDES, BUT IT IS PRESUMABLY FUNDAMENTAL TO HIS APPROACH THAT TWO SIDES DO

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PAGE 03 LONDON 00843 021950Z

NOT SCRUTINIZE EACH OTHER'S LETTER. THUS, FISHER GAVE ENAHORO DRAFT LETTER FOR GOWON AND GAVE KOGBARA DRAFT LETTER FOR OJUKWU. AS NOTED ABOVE, IT IS AREAS OF OVERLAP IN THESE TWO LETTERS WHICH WOULD, IF ALL WENT WELL, PERMIT TRUCE TO BE DECLARED AND TALKS TO BE LAUNCHED.

7. ADU AND HENSLEY TOLD US THAT FISHER DISCUSSED HIS PROPOSAL NOT ONLY WITH ENAHORO BUT ALSO WITH FMG PERMSECS AYIDA, ASIODU AND JODA. THEIR REACTION, LIKE ENAHORO'S, WAS POLITE BUT SKEPTICAL. THEY WERE ESPECIALLY DUBIOUS ABOUT THREE-MONTH TRUCE PROPOSITION AND WERE INCLINZBHTOHTHPNK THAT BIAFRANS COULD FIND WAYS TO SPIN OUT TRUCE PERIOD INDEFINITELY WHILE CONSOLIDATING THEIR POSITION. ON BIAFRAN SIDE, ADU TELLS US THAT SHORT MESSAGE HAS JUST BEEN RECEIVED BY SECRETARIAT ACKNOWLEDGING RECEIPT OF FISHER PROPOSALS AND IN REPLY REFERRING TO OJUKWU'S NEY YEAR'S MESSAGE CALLING FOR TRUCE AND UNCONDITIONAL TALKS.

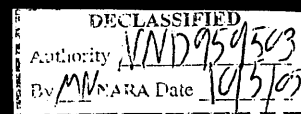
8. ADU STATES THAT ARNOLD SMITH WILL BE AWAY ON LEAVE UNTIL FEB 7. NO EFFORT WILL BE MADE TO STIMULATE FURTHER REACTION FROM EITHER SIDE AT LEAST UNTIL HE HAS REVIEWED SITUATION.
BRUCE

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1007

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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CONFIDENTIAL 308

PAGE 01 ADDIS 00377 301644Z

51
ACTION AF 18

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, SR 01, ACDA 16, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07,

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RSR 01, 157 W

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R 301135Z JAN 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8267
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 0377

SUBJ: NIGERIAN PEACE TALKS

1. MINSTATE TESFAYE TOLD ME LAST NIGHT (JAN 29) HIM HAD NOT RECEIVED ANY RESPONSES FROM OTHER MEMBERS OF CON COMM ON SUGGESTION FOR MEETING. FESFAYE EXPRESSED DOUBT THAT OJUKWU REALLY PREPARED TO DISCUSS COMPROMISE SETTLEMENT. HE BELIEVES CALL FOR CEASE FIRE DOES NOT REFLECT WEAKNESS OR WILLINGNESS NEGOTIATE BUT RATHER IS MEANS OBTAINING INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION BIAFRA AS SEPARATE STATE.

2. HE ASKED IF US HAD MADE ESTIMATE BIAFRAN MILITARY STRENGTH AND CURRENT INTENTIONS. FRANCE ON FUTURE ARMS SUPPLY. I SAID I DID NOT BELIEVE WE HAD SUCH INFORMATION. TESFAYE THOUGHT IF THIS AVAILABLE IT WOULD BE EASIER ESTIMATE OJUKWU'S REAL INTENTIONS AND RELATIVE MILITARY POSITION. TWO SIDES. AS WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY REPORTED IEG DOES NOT HAVE HIGH OPINION FMG FORCES AN ESTIMATE WHICH HAS BEEN CONFIRMED BY RECENT CASES INDISCIPLINE REPORTED IN PRESS AND BY ETHIOPIAN EMBASSY.

3. IF WASHINGTON HAS PREPARED MILITARY EVALUATION BIAFRA AND IT INDICATES BIAFRAN'S POSITION PRECARIOUS, IT MIGHT SERVE STRENGTHEN HIM'S PATH FOR MEETING.

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CONFIDENTIAL

31

1008

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66



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
TR POL 15-1 BIAFRA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 989

PAGE 01 LAGOS 00619 231722Z

40
ACTION AF 18

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, GPM 04, NSC 10, SP 02, SS 20, RSC 01, SR 01, ACDA 16,

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R 231415Z JAN 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4570
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
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CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 619

SUBJ: AZIKIWE'S STATEMENTS ON OUUKWU'S POSITION AND CIVIL WAR

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF TELEGRAM FROM BRITISH HICOM IN MALAWI,
PASSED TO US BY BRITISH HICOM LAGOS (PROTECT):

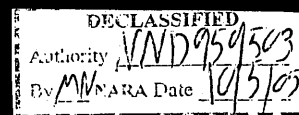
A. QUOTE: PRESIDENT (BANDA) TOLD ME (UK HICOMER) IN STRICT
CONFIDENCE TODAY THAT HE HAD IN FACT SEEN AZIKIWE WHO WAS
WHOLLY IN FAVOUR OF ENDING CONFLICT AND WOULD INDEED BY NOW
HAVE MADE COMMON CAUSE WITH NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT IF IT WERE
NOT THAT HIS SON, WHO HAD BEEN WOUNDED IN A BOMBING INCIDENT,
HAD BEEN KEPT IN BIAFRA BY OUUKWU DESPITE APPEALS FOR HIM
TO BE ALLOWED TO COME TO LONDON FOR MEDICAL TREATMENT, AND
WAS CLEARLY BEING HELD AS HOSTAGE. AZIKIWE HAD ALSO SAID
THAT THIS UNFORTUNATE CONFLICT WOULD HAVE BEEN ENDED IN
AUGUST IF THE FRENCH HAD NOT STARTED TO SUPPLY ARMS AND
TO ALLOW FACILITIES FOR CZECH AND OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN
WEAPONS TO BE SENT TO IBOS THROUGH GABON AND OTHER PLACES.

B. DR. BANDA WAS, I THINK, REFLECTING AZIKIWE'S VIEW

CONFIDENTIAL

23

1009



Dec 27-14 Biafra. Nigeria

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SECRET 223

1/20/69

PAGE 01 STATE 009292

14
ORIGIN SS. 10

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APPROVED BY:S/S-O:HLHEYMANN
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T STATE 009292

EXDIS:

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION TO SECSTATE JANUARY 19, 1969 FROM
ADDIS ABABA REPEATED TO YOU:

QUOTE: S E C R E T ADDIS ABABA 0242

EXDIS:

DEPT PASS LAGOS, GENEVA

SUBJECT: NIGERIA: OJUKWU: REPLY TO HIM'S LETTER

1. BRIT EMBASSY AT OUR REQUEST PASSED INFO MCDONALD TALKS: YESTERDAY WIT IEG PRIMIN AND FONMIN TO DEPT. OJUKWU: REPLY TO HIM'S LETTER DESCRIBED BY PRIMIN AND FONMIN AS QTE: ENTIRELY UNCOMPROMISING UNQTE, I.E., OJUKWU NOT RPT NOT PREPARED ENTER NEGOTIATIONS ANY TYPE PRIOR TO CEASE-FIRE. ASSUME THIS REJECTION OF HIM'S SPECIFIC RELIEF CORRIDOR PROPOSALS, AND NOTE IT PARELLELS TOUGH LINE TAKEN BY BIAFRANS IN LONDON.

2 HOLIDAYS TEMKET (TODAY) AND ST. MICHAEL (MONDAY) MAKE IT UNLIKELY WE WILL OBTAIN ANY INDICATION NEXT MOVES IEG, IF ANY, UNTIL TUESDAY. ALSO ASSUME MININFO LIKELY HOLD STORY UNTIL TUESDAY GIVEN BLANKET PRESS, RADIO AND TV COVERAGE PRIME!

SECRET

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1010

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Authority: VND 950/503
By: MNARA Date: 10/5/05

TELEGRAM

PAGE 02 STATE 009292

RELIGIOUS HOLIDAY.

3. SUGGEST DEPT MAY WISH INFORM CONG LOWANSTEIN ON PRELIMINARY BASIS. WE WILL SEEK OBTAIN TEXT LETTER TOMORROW AND URGE PUBLICITY.

4. DOES DEPT CONSIDER IT USEFUL FOR US TO URGE HIM
SEND EMISSARY TO BIAFRA-FMG IN FINAL ATTEMPT, OR SHOULD
23 43J34:3 5#8J 194 1-534 09JJ8716 .943 1-194-713 J857-589,?
I AM PREPARED MAKE APPROACH, ALTHOUGH MY INCLINATION IS TO
RESERVE FOR FEW WEEKS IN HOPE OJUKWU WILL BE MORE INCLINED
NEGOTIATE AFTER IT CLEAR THAT BIAFRAN PREMISE UNFOUNDED
THAT FMG AT POINT COLLAPSE. IN ESSENCE WE BELIEVE HIM HAS
MUCH BETTER FEEL AFRICAN POLITICAL REACTION: NIGERIA THAN
EITHER OURSELVES OR BRITISH AND THAT WE WELL ADVISED GEAR
OUR ACTIONS TO HIM PACE IN PERIOD IN WHICH HE CLEARLY FEELS
NEED MOVE CAUTIOUSLY, GIVEN HIS RELATIONS: GOWON, OJUKWU,
NYERERE, TUBMAN ANKRAH, KENYATTA, HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY, MOBUTU
AND OTHERAFRICAN LEADERS. HALL UNQUOTE RUSK

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

009310

⑪
OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

SECRET EXDIS

Classification

Origin

ACTION: Amembassy LONDON

Info:

STATE

EXDIS

SUBJECT: NIGERIA: OJUKWU REPLY TO HIM'S LETTER

OC/T please repeat to above post ADDIS 242, of January 19, 1969

POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

9310

~~Böhler~~
~~ROCKERS~~

①
Drafted by: Nigerian Task Force:RMelbourne

Tel. Ext.

Telegraphic transmission and
classification approved by:

Nigerian Task Force:RMelbourne

Clearances:

SECRET EXDIS

Classification

FORM 8-65 DS-322

1012

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VMD 9501503
By MWA Date 10/5/92

The seal of the United States Department of State, featuring an eagle with a shield, holding an olive branch and arrows, with a constellation of stars above its head. The text "DEPARTMENT OF STATE" is arched above the eagle, and "UNITED STATES OF AMERICA" is arched below it, separated by stars.

POL 27-14 BIAFRA-MILLIN
 Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 884

PAGE: 01 STATE: 009310

89
ORIGIN: SS: 10

INFO: /010:R!

DRAFTED BY: NIGERIAN TASK FORCE, R MELBOURNE
APPROVED BY: NIGERIAN TASK FORCE, R MELBOURNE
66640

R 202045Z JAN 69
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LONDON

112246

S E C R E T STATE 009310

FXDIS:

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SECSTATE FROM ADDIS ABABA, DATED
JAN. 19:

QUOTE:

ADDIS ABABA 0242

EXDIS:

DEPT PASS: LAGOS, GENEVA

SUBJECT: NIGERIA: OJUKWU REPLY TO HIM'S LETTER

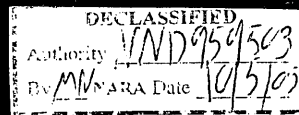
1. BRIT EMBASSY AT OUR REQUEST PASSED INFO MCDONALD TALKS YESTERDAY WIT IEG PRIMIN AND FONMIN TO DEPT. OJUKWU REPLY TO HIM'S LETTER DESCRIBED BY PRIMIN AND FONMIN AS: NOTE ENTIRELY UNCOMPROMISING UNOTE, I.E., OJUKWU NOT RPT NOT PREPARED ENTER NEGOTIATIONS ANY TYPE PRIOR TO CEASE-FIRE. ASSUME THIS REJECTION OF HIM'S SPECIFIC RELIEF CORRIDOR PROPOSALS, AND NOTE IT PARELLELS TOUGH LINE TAKEN BY BIAFRANS IN LONDON.

2 HOLIDAYS TEMKET (TODAY) AND ST. MICHAEL (MONDAY) MAKE IT UNLIKELY WE WILL OBTAIN ANY INDICATION NEXT MOVES IEG. IF ANY, UNTIL TUESDAY. ALSO ASSUME MININFO LIKELY HOLD STORY UNTIL

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1013





Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 009310

TUESDAY GIVEN BLANKET PRESS, RADIO AND TV COVERAGE PRIME
RELIGIOUS HOLIDAY.

3. SUGGEST DEPT MAY WISH INFORM CONG LOWANSTEIN ON PRELIMINARY BASIS. WE WILL SEEK OBTAIN TEXT LETTER TOMORROW AND URGE PUBLICITY.

4. DOES DEPT CONSIDER IT USEFUL FOR US TO URGE HIM SEND EMISSARY TO BIAFRA-FMG IN FINAL ATTEMPT, OR SHOULD WE RESERVE THIS FOR LATER POSSIBLY MORE FAVORABLE SITUATION? I AM PREPARED MAKE APPROACH, ALTHOUGH MY INCLINATION IS TO RESERVE FOR FEW WEEKS IN HOPE OJUKWU WILL BE MORE INCLINED NEGOTIATE AFTER IT CLEAR THAT BIAFRAN PREMISE UNFOUNDED. THAT FMG AT POINT COLLAPSE. IN ESSENCE WE BELIEVE HIM HAS MUCH BETTER FEEL AFRICAN POLITICAL REACTION NIGERIA THAN EITHER OURSELVES OR BRITISH AND THAT WE WELL ADVISED GEAR OUR ACTIONS TO HIM PACE IN PERIOD IN WHICH HE CLEARLY FEELS NEED MOVE CAUTIOUSLY, GIVEN HIS RELATIONS GOWON, OJUKWU, NYERERE, TUBMAN, ANKRAH, KENYATTA, HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY, MOBUTU AND OTHER AFRICAN LEADERS. HALL UNQUOTE BOHLEN

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PoL 27-14 BIAFRA-
 NIGERIA
 Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 216

PAGE 01 ADDIS 00242 250831Z

11
ACTION SS. 30

INFO SSO 000/030 W

109274

P 191315Z JAN 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8182

S E C R E T ADDIS ABABA 0242

EXDTS

DEPT PASS LAGOS, GENEVA

SUBJECT: NIGERIA: OJUKWU REPLY TO HIM'S LETTER

1. BRIT EMBASSY AT OUR REQUEST PASSED INFO MCDONALD TALKS
YESTERDAY WIT IEG PRIMIN AND FONMIN TO DEPT. OJUKWU .
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ASSUME THIS REJECTION OF HIM'S SPECIFIC RELIEF CORRIDOR
PROPOSALS, AND NOTE IT PARELLELS TOUGH LINE TAKEN BY
BIAFRANS IN LONDON.

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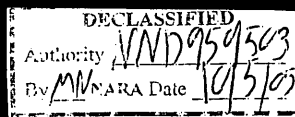
3. SUGGEST DEPT MAY WISH INFORM CONG LOWANSTEIN ON PRELIMINARY BASIS. WE WILL SEEK OBTAIN TEXT LETTER TOMORROW AND URGE PUBLICITY.

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NEGOTIATE AFTER IT CLEAR THAT BIAFRAN PREMISE UNFOUNDED

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S/S-O	11	Date January 19, 1969	
PRINCIPALS		GEOGRAPHIC BUREAUS	
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U	5	ARA	
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G	7 19	EUR	
* S/NL	10	NEA	
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S/D	12	CIA	16
SIG #20 per RLB 1/21/69		NSA	
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By MW/NARA Date 10/5/00



Department of State TELEGRAM

31

Pol 27 Biafra-Nigeria
for Pol 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria
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London 1-17-69 439

PAGE 01 LONDON 00439 01 OF 02 172154Z

81
ACTION AF 16

RSR

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SPI 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SAHI 02, SA 01, SR 01, ORM 03,

SCS 04, SCA 01, AIDI 28, 151 WJS 100242

R 171817Z JAN 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8289
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY ADDIS
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USUN NEWYORK 1571

Pol 27 Biafra-Nigeria
for Pol 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 LONDON 439

SUBJECT: NIGERIA: AWOLowo PRESS CONFERENCE

1. FONOFF HAS PROVIDED US WITH "RELIABLE BUT INCOMPLETE" ACCOUNT OF AWOLowo PRESS CONFERENCE HELD AT NIGERIA HOUSE JANUARY 16. IT WAS PREPARED BY OFFICIAL NEWS DEPT. AND GIVES MORE COMPLETE VERSION OF AWOLowo'S REMARKS THAN ANY THAT HAS SO FAR APPEARED IN LONDON PRESS.

2. QUOTE. CHIEF AWOLowo WAS ASKED WHETHER HE WAS PREPARED TO MEET THE REPRESENTATIVES OF BREAKAWAY EASTERN REGION AND HE REPLIED "IF THE REBELS WISH TO MEET ME, I AM PREPARED TO MEET THEM", BUT HE HAD RECEIVED NO ADVICE THAT THEY WERE READY TO ATTEND A MEETING.

QUOTE. ASKED WHETHER ANYTHING HAD TRANSPIRED AS A RESULT OF MEETING AT LANCASTER HOUSE, CHIEF AWOLowo REPLIED "NOTHING".

QUOTE. ASKED WHETHER THERE HAD BEEN ANY CONTACTS BETWEEN

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By MW NARA Date 10/5/03

EXDIS
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POL 27-14 BIATRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 801

PAGE 01 ADDIS 00195 160944Z

21
ACTION SS: 30

INFO /030 W

R 160720Z JAN 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8150

CONFIDENTIAL ADDIS ABABA 0195

EXDIS

SUBJ: NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR

REF: A. YAOUNDE 082.
B. GENEVA 110 - *POL 27-14 BIATRA-NIGERIA*

1. KETEMA TOLD ME LAST NIGHT (JAN 15) THAT IEG HAD RECEIVED NO RESPONSE FROM OJUKWU AND ACCORDINGLY COULD NOT MOVE TO INVITE PARTIES TO ADDIS FOR DISCUSSION ALTHOUGH THE FMG WAS WILLING TO UNDERTAKE SUCH DISCUSSIONS. WE HAVE THIS A.M. INFORMED TESFAYE OF REF B AND HE IS QUERING ETHIOPIA MISSION GENEVA.

2. KETEMA INFORMED ME HE HAD SENT OVER WEEKEND, ON HIM'S INSTRUCTIONS, AN APPEAL TO PRESIDENT OF EQ. GUINEA FOR RESUMPTION OF RED CROSS FLIGHTS. I INFORMED HIM THAT WE WERE APPROACHING FMG DIRECTLY ON QUESTION AND PROMISED TO KEEP HIM INFORMED OF DEVELOPMENTS.

HALL

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By *MW* NARA Date *10/5/05*

*Addis Ababa 195
1-16-69*

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S/S-O	11	Date	January 16, 1969	
PRINCIPALS		GEOGRAPHIC BUREAUS		
S	✓	AF	14/15	
U	5, 6	ARA		
M		EA		
G		EUR		
* S/NL	10	NFA		
G/PM		OTHER AGENCIES		
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FUNCTIONAL BUREAUS		Treasury		
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By MVA Date 10/5/03



POC 27-14 BIAFRA-
Department of State
NIGERIA **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 592

PAGE 01 GENEVA 00110 151614Z

53
ACTION SS 70

INFO SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, CCO 00, /070 W
----- 084443

O 151528Z JAN 69 ZFF-4
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 035
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 110

LIMDIS

SUBJ: HIM MESSAGE

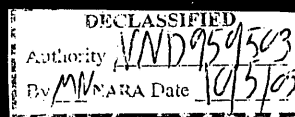
REF: YAOUNDE 082 *YU*

LINDT SAID HE PERSONALLY PASSED SEALED OJUKWU REPLY TO
ETHIOPIAN CHARGE GENEVA FOR FORWARDING ADDIS. TUBBY

GENEVA - 110
1-15 69

CONFIDENTIAL
28

1020



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I N C O M I N G

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SERIAL 110

(Time Received)

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MilRep 3
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Task Force 3

AF5 5
ARA 9
EA 11
EUR 10
NEA 8

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AA/NESA 2

Functional

Principals

ES 2
S 3
U 3
M 2
G 2
S/NL 1
SIG 1
S/AH 3
S/AL 1
SA 1
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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

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14 JAN 69 22 38z
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Origin ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS

Info: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA
LONDON
PARIS

US MISSION GENEVA
USUN
CINCSTRIKE
Amconsul IBADAN
KADUNA

SUBJECT: Nigeria Press Summary - Jan. 14

1. NYTimes carries London report Enahoro statments under head Nigerian official bars cease-fire - QTE we have them on the run UNQTE aide in London says. Enahoro said Nigeria not prepared consider unconditional cease-fire. Cease-fire which would allow secessionist state recover from attacks would be QTE plain stupid UNQTE he said at luncheon at Dorchester Hotel for diplomatic and commonwealth reporters. Civil war, which Nigerians expected be over in weeks when it started June 1967, will be over this yer according Enahoro. QTE We have got them on the run UNQTE ~~he~~ but he did not give details. QTE We are determined keep Nigeria one. You might say that in a sense we are fighting for the soul of Nigeria. But it is not true to say Biafrans are fighting for survival of Ibos UNQTE. He also said people in Biafra who were starving were not Ibos but members of minority groups who are in concentration camps. He was not challenged on this statement. There are no hopes now among delegates that private peace talks between Nigerians,

Drafted by: *RS*
AF/P:RLPerkins:mb 1/14/69Tel. Ext.
2105Telegraphic transmission and
classification approved by: *RMM/RTG*
Nigeria Task Force:RMMelbourne

Clearances:

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ClassificationFORM DS-322
8-65

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By: *MMARA* Date: *10/5/00*

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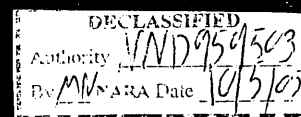
Origin	ACTION: Page 2 of telegram to Amembassy LAGOS
Info:	<p>Biafrans can be arranged. Ignatius Kogbara, head of Biafra mission London, recently invited confer with Maurice Foley, parliamentary under secretary at Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Kogbara said tonight that since Nigerians had not altered conditions for peace, he NEW saw no purpose in discussions with either Foley or Nigerians. QTE We are not surprised at Chief Enahoro's remarks. He has made them many times before. We have from time to time put out feelers for peace. We assure Nigerians they will not win war. Only way they can win it is by absolute genocide UNQTE said Kogbara.</p> <p>2. Times reports from Geneva ICRC said it would have consider ending relief work in Nigeria should it continue be prevented from aiding Biafra. Roger Gallopin, director general, said at news conference that as neutral body it was under obligation help both sides. With interruption its mercy airlift to Biafra, committee may have decide how long it can continue its QTE one-way UNQTE activity on govt side, he said in reply to a question. Committee halted a week ago its airlift to Biafra from EG because EG banned carrying motor fuel on ICRC planes. Committee said fuel was needed for its fleet of 70 trucks that distribute food and other relief supplies flown to various centers where 850,000 Biafran homeless are being kept from starving. But EG contends fuel falls in category of strategic goods. Meanwhile, committee negotiating with</p>
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Page 3 of telegram to

ACTION: /Amembassy LAGOS

Origin

Infor

officials of Caritas to see if it can fly in fuel needed for ICRC trucks as stopgap solution. Wash Post carries same story.

3. Times and Balt Sun report departure Norwegian ship Forra from New York Jan 13, with 500 more tons food collected in New York area, on top of 347 tons food and medicines from Israel, Britain and Netherlands which on it when it docked Brooklyn last Tuesday. About 2000 more tons donated by CARE and NCWC await Forra in Newport News, whence it will sail for Sao Tome. Ship loaded New York by 60 longshoremen despite strike elsewhere on docks. Sun adds from New Orleans 115 longshoremen there and in Baton Rouge loading mercy cargo for Biafra on freighter Del Mundo despite strike.

END

RUSK

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FORM 8-65 DS-322

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6

POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
005128

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

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11 JAN 69 20 07z

ONLY
FOR

Origin ACTION: Amembassy ~~XXX~~ LAGOS

Info: INFO: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA
Amembassy DAR ES SALAAM
Amembassy LUSAKA

~~SECRET~~/NOFORN

pol 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
EXDIS

5728

(OCT/T: Please repeat London 211 attached)

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4

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Tel. Ext. Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: S/S - Walker

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By M/NARA Date 10/5/92

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
 Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 601

PAGE: 01 STATE: 005128

49
ORIGIN SS: 10

INFO: /010 R

DRAFTED BY: AF DUTY OFFICER: HT CLEW
APPROVED BY: S/S: L. WALKER
66609

065628

R 112007Z JAN 69
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

S E C R E T STATE 005128

EXDIS:

NOFORN:

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION TO SECSTATE, JANUARY 10, 1969 FROM LONDON
 REPEATED TO YOU:

QUOTE S E C R E T LONDON 211

EXDIS/NOFORN.

SUBJECT: NIGERIA: BRITISH EFFORTS TO GET TWO SIDES TOGETHER

1. FONOFF'S MAURICE FOLEY (PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECTY) TELLS US IN CONFIDENCE THAT HE HAS BEEN SHUTTLING AMONG NIGERIANS, BIAFRANS, TANZANIANS, AND ZAMBIANS THIS WEEK TRYING TO BRING ABOUT DIRECT TALKS BETWEEN PARTIES TO CONFLICT. SO FAR HE HAS LITTLE TO SHOW FOR HIS EFFORTS.

2. FOLEY HAS MET SEVERAL TIMES WITH AWOLowo AND ARIKPO. THEY AGREED TO DISCUSS NIGERIAN SITUATION WITH NYERERE AND, IN PRINCIPLE, AGREED ALSO TO MEET SEPARATELY WITH BIAFRAN REPS. NYERERE, ACCOMPANIED BY KAUNDE AND OBOTE, MET WITH AWOLowo NIGHT OF JANUARY 8 BUT APPARENTLY CAME

~~SECRET~~

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Authority VND 959503
By MW NARA Date 10/5/03

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PAGE: 02 STATE 005128

AWAY WITH IMPRESSION FMG POSITION HARDENING AND AWOLWO
RELUCTANT TO ENGAGE IN DIRECT TALKS WITH BIAFRAN REPS.

3. FOLEY HAS ALSO SEEN KOGBARA AND URGED HIM TO AGREE TO DIRECT TALKS. KOGBARA PLED ABSENCE OF INSTRUCTIONS AND SAID HE WOULD ASK FOR THEM FROM OJUKWU. ONYEBULU HAS JUST ARRIVED IN LONDON AND FOLEY HOPES HE WILL BE AUTHORIZED BY OJUKWU TO TALK FOR BIAFRANS.

4. PRESENT SITUATION IS NOT ESPECIALLY ENCOURAGING. NEITHER AWOLOWO NOR KOGBARA IS ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT DIRECT TALKS AND FOLEY IS TRYING TO GET NYERERE AND KAUNDA TO PUT PRESSURE ON OJUKWU. HE BELIEVES COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE, WITH MOST PARTIES DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY INTERESTED IN SETTLEMENT PRESENT IN LONDON, PROVIDES OPPORTUNITY FOR TALKS THAT SHOULD NOT BE WASTED. ACCORDINGLY, FOLEY IS TELLING NYERERE "I WILL DELIVER FEDS IF YOU DELIVER BIAFRANS".

5. DEPARTMENT REPEAT LAGOS, ADDIS, DAR AND LUSAKA. KAISER
UNQUOTE RUSK

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Pol 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 333

PAGE 01 LONDON 00211 101943Z

47
ACTION SS 30

INFO /030 W

R 101915Z JAN 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8137

S E C R E T LONDON/211

EXDIS/NOFORN

SUBJECT: NIGERIA: BRITISH EFFORTS TO GET TWO SIDES TOGETHER

1. FONOFF'S MAURICE FOLEY (PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECTY) TELLS US IN CONFIDENCE THAT HE HAS BEEN SHUTTLING AMONG NIGERIANS, BIAFRANS, TANZANIANS, AND ZAMBIANS THIS WEEK TRYING TO BRING ABOUT DIRECT TALKS BETWEEN PARTIES TO CONFLICT. SO FAR HE HAS LITTLE TO SHOW FOR HIS EFFORTS.

2. FOLEY HAS MET SEVERAL TIMES WITH AWOLOWO AND ARIKPO. THEY AGREED TO DISCUSS NIGERIAN SITUATION WITH NYERERE AND, IN PRINCIPLE, AGREED ALSO TO MEET SEPARATELY WITH BIAFRAN REPS. NYERERE, ACCOMPANIED BY KAUNDE AND OBOTE, MET WITH AWOLOWO NIGHT OF JANUARY 8 BUT APPARENTLY CAME AWAY WITH IMPRESSION FMG POSITION HARDENING AND AWOLOWO RELUCTANT TO ENGAGE IN DIRECT TALKS WITH BIAFRAN REPS.

3. FOLEY HAS ALSO SEEN KOGBARA AND URGED HIM TO AGREE TO DIRECT TALKS. KOGBARA PLED ABSENCE OF INSTRUCTIONS AND SAID HE WOULD ASK FOR THEM FROM OJUKWU. ONYEBGULA HAS JUST ARRIVED IN LONDON AND FOLEY HOPES HE WILL BE AUTHORIZED BY OJUKWU TO TALK FOR BIAFRANS.

4. PRESENT SITUATION IS NOT ESPECIALLY ENCOURAGING. NEITHER AWOLowo NOR KOGBARA IS ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT DIRECT TALKS AND FOLEY IS TRYING TO GET NYERERE AND KAUNDA TO PUT PRESSURE ON OJUKWU. HE BELIEVES COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE, WITH MOST PARTIES DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY INTERESTED IN SETTLEMENT PRESENT IN LONDON, PROVIDES OPPORTUNITY FOR TALKS THAT SHOULD NOT BE WASTED. ACCORDINGLY,

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PAGE 02 LONDON 00211 101943Z

FOLEY IS TELLING NYERERE "I WILL DELIVER FEDS IF YOU
DELIVER BIAFRANS".

5. DEPARTMENT REPEAT LAGOS, ADDIS, DAR AND LUSAKA. KAISER

NOTE: NOT REPEATED ABOVE POSTS BY OCT.

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U ✓ 5		ARA	
M		EA	
G ✓ 7		EUR ✓ 16	
* S/NL ✓ 10		NEA	
G/PM		OTHER AGENCIES	
S/AH		White House ✓ 2+3	
S/AL		Vice President	
S/P		Defense	
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		NSA	
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* New Symbol			

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POL 27-14 BIARRA-NIGERIA

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INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

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Classification

004938

39 A
10 JAN 69 23 52z
ONLY FOR

Origin

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY

Info:

INFO: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA
" LONDON
" OTTAWA

STATE

EXDIS

Appreciate Embassy may deem it inadvisable to sound FMG on its reaction to HIM's proposal. Department most interested to learn if Ethiopian Ambassador has had any indications from FMG as to nature and expected date of response.

GP-1

END

RUSK

4

Drafted by: AF/W:RMMelbourne:emb 1/10/69 Tel. Ext. 2619
Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: AF - C. Robert Moore

S/S- Mr. Brown

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FORM DS-322
8-65

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S <u>4</u>		AF <u>14, 15</u>	
U <u>5</u>		ARA	
M		EA	
G <u>7</u>		EUR	
G/PM		NEA	
S/AH		OTHER AGENCIES	
S/AL		White House <u>2, 3</u>	
S/C		Vice President	
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<u>S/R - 10</u>		CIA <u>16</u>	
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ACTION: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
" " LAGOS "

7 JAN 69 21 57Z

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EXDIS

Code Room: Please repeat London 093,/dtg 061718Z Jan to above posts.

26372

RUSK

2

Drafted by:
AF/W:RPSmith:ba 1/7/69

Tel. Ext.
6402

Telegraphic transmission and
classification approved by:

Roy M. Melbourne
Nigeria Task Force

Clearances:

S/S-Mr. Brown

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8-65 DS-322

1033

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The seal of the United States Department of State, featuring an eagle with wings spread, holding an olive branch and arrows, with a shield on its chest. Above the eagle is a constellation of stars. The words "DEPARTMENT OF STATE" are arched above the eagle, and "UNITED STATES OF AMERICA" is arched below it.

POL 27-14 Bishop - Nigeria
 Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 535

PAGE 01 STATE 002372

01

85
ORIGIN SS 10

INFO / 010 R

DRAFTED BY:AF/W:RPSMITH
APPROVED BY:NIGERIA TASK FORCE:ROY M. MELBOURNE
S/S:MR. BROWN
66638

P 072157Z JAN 69
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

042160

S E C R E T STATE 002372

EXDIS

FOL SENT ACTION SECSTATE FROM LONDON JAN 6, 1969.

QTE LONDON 093:

EXDIS

SUBJ: BIAFRAN RELIEF

1. FOLEY GAVE LUNCHEON TODAY FOR FR. BYRNE OF CARITAS ATTENDED BY WEST AFRICAN DEPARTMENT STAFF, BACON OF CANADIAN HIGH COMMISSION AND EMBOFF AT WHICH SUBJECT OF BIAFRAN RELIEF, SPECIFICALLY LOWENSTEIN PLAN, DISCUSSED. POSSIBILITY OF EXPLOITING CURRENT COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE TO MOVE TOWARD POLITICAL SETTLEMENT WAS ALSO EXPLORED.

2. RELIEF: MOST OF LUNCHEON MEETING WAS DEVOTED TO EXCHANGE BETWEEN FOLEY AND FR. BYRNE ON LOWENSTEIN PLAN. FOLEY GAVE FULL OUTLINE OF PROPOSALS TO FR. BYRNE AND ASKED FOR REACTIONS. FR. BYRNE WAS GENERALLY OPTIMISTIC THAT PROPOSALS SHOULD HAVE BETTER CHANCE FOR ACCEPTANCE THAN ANYTHING WHICH HAS BEEN EXPLORED TO DATE. HE PROBED WITH FOLEY TO MAKE CERTAIN TO HIS OWN SATISFACTION THAT PROPOSAL WOULD NOT ENTAIL PRIOR AGREEMENT BY OJUKWU TO GIVE UP NIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS TO ULI. FOLEY ANSWERED THAT HE ASSUMED SO

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 STATE 002372

AND ALSO VOICED HIS UNDERSTANDING THAT SUGGESTION MADE IN EMPEROR'S NOTE TO FMG AND BIAFRANS RE POSSIBLE OAU OBSERVERS' ALONG CORRIDOR FROM OBILAGO WAS EMPEROR'S OWN ADDITION TO LOWENSTEIN PROPOSAL.

3. FR. BYRNE SAID ON TENTATIVE BASIS HE THOUGHT CARITAS WOULD BE QUITE WILLING TO ASSIST IN OFFLOADING AND FORWARDING SUPPLIES FROM OBILAGO THROUGH CORRIDOR TO BIAFRA AND WOULD BE WILLING TO WORK JOINTLY WITH ICRA. HE THOUGHT THIS TYPE OF ARRANGEMENT WOULD BE MOST ACCEPTABLE TO OJUKWU. HE SAID FMG INSPECTION OF SUPPLIES AT OBILAGO SHOULD BE NO PROBLEM.

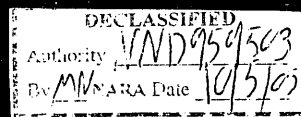
4. POLITICAL SETTLEMENT: FR. BYRNE EXPRESSED PERSONAL OPINION THAT OJUKWU, DESPITE HIS CONSISTENTLY EXTREME PUBLIC POSITION OF INSISTING ON FULL BIAFRAN SOVEREIGNTY WOULD IN REALITY SETTLE FOR SOMETHING LESS WHICH PROVIDED ADEQUATE SECURITY FOR IBOS. IN ENSUING DISCUSSION, HE MENTIONED THOUGH THAT THIS FALL-BACK BIAFRAN POSITION COULD ONLY BE EXPRESSED ON BEHALF OF OJUKWU BY SOMEONE HE THOROUGHLY TRUSTED BUT THAT SERIOUS PROBLEM REMAINED OF SUCH AN INDIVIDUAL GAINING ACCESS TO GOWON. FOLEY INTERRUPTED TO STATE HIS CONCERN THAT OJUKWU HAS FAILED TO SEND ONE OR MORE TRUSTED CABINET-LEVEL BIAFRANS TO LONDON TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF CURRENT COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE. HE SAID BRITISH UNDERSTOOD OJUKWU WAS CONSIDERING IDEA BUT DECIDED AGAINST IT LAST WEEK FOR REASONS UNKNOWN TO BRITISH. FR. BYRNE ASKED IF IT WERE TOO LATE AND FOLEY INDICATED IT WAS NOT AND ASKED FR. BYRNE IF HE WOULD ENDEAVOR THROUGH HIS CHANNELS TO CONVEY THOUGHT TO OJUKWU THAT ONE OR MORE SENIOR BIAFRANS WOULD BE WELL RECEIVED BY BRITISH IN LONDON AND MIGHT WELL HAVE OPPORTUNITY TO LAUNCH AT LEAST SOME MOVEMENT TOWARD POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. FR. BYRNE AGREED.

5. DEPT. REPEAT AS DESIRED.
BRUCE UNQTE.
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PAGE 01 LONDON 00093 061752Z

45
ACTION SS 30

INFO CCO 00, /030 W

R 061718Z JAN 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8061

S E C R E T LONDON (93)

EXDIS

SUBJ: BIAFRAN RELIEF

1. FOLEY GAVE LUNCHEON TODAY FOR FR. BYRNE OF CARITAS ATTENDED BY WEST AFRICAN DEPARTMENT STAFF, BACON OF CANADIAN HIGH COMMISSION AND EMBOFF AT WHICH SUBJECT OF BIAFRAN RELIEF, SPECIFICALLY LOWENSTEIN PLAN, DISCUSSED. POSSIBILITY OF EXPLOITING CURRENT COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE TO MOVE TOWARD POLITICAL SETTLEMENT WAS ALSO EXPLORED.

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3. FR. BYRNE SAID ON TENTATIVE BASIS HE THOUGHT CARITAS WOULD BE QUITE WILLING TO ASSIST IN OFFLOADING AND FORWARDING SUPPLIES FROM OBILAGO THROUGH CORRIDOR TO BIAFRA AND WOULD BE WILLING TO WORK JOINTLY WITH ICRA. HE THOUGHT THIS TYPE OF ARRANGEMENT WOULD BE MOST ACCEPTABLE TO OJUKWU. HE SAID FMG INSPECTION OF SUPPLIES AT OBILAGO SHOULD BE NO PROBLEM.

4. POLITICAL SETTLEMENT: FR. BYRNE EXPRESSED PERSONAL OPINION

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PAGE 02 LONDON 00093 061752Z

THAT OJUKWU, DESPITE HIS CONSISTENTLY EXTREME PUBLIC POSITION OF INSISTING ON FULL BIAFRAN SOVEREIGNTY WOULD IN REALITY SETTLE FOR SOMETHING LESS WHICH PROVIDED ADEQUATE SECURITY FOR IBOS. IN ENSUING DISCUSSION, HE MENTIONED THOUGH THAT THIS FALL-BACK BIAFRAN POSITION COULD ONLY BE EXPRESSED ON BEHALF OF OJUKWU BY SOMEONE HE THOROUGHLY TRUSTED BUT THAT SERIOUS PROBLEM REMAINED OF SUCH AN INDIVIDUAL GAINING ACCESS TO GOWON. FOLEY INTERRUPTED TO STATE HIS CONCERN THAT OJUKWU HAS FAILED TO SEND ONE OR MORE TRUSTED CABINET-LEVEL BIAFRANS TO LONDON TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF CURRENT COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE. HE SAID BRITISH UNDERSTOOD OJUKWU WAS CONSIDERING IDEA BUT DECIDED AGAINST IT LAST WEEK FOR REASONS UNKNOWN TO BRITISH. FR. BYRNE ASKED IF IT WERE TOO LATE AND FOLEY INDICATED IT WAS NOT AND ASKED FR. BYRNE IF HE WOULD ENDEAVOR THROUGH HIS CHANNELS TO CONVEY THOUGHT TO OJUKWU THAT ONE OR MORE SENIOR BIAFRANS WOULD BE WELL RECEIVED BY BRITISH IN LONDON AND MIGHT WELL HAVE OPPORTUNITY TO LAUNCH AT LEAST SOME MOVEMENT TOWARD POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. FR. BYRNE AGREED.

5. DEPT. REPEAT AS DESIRED.
BRUCE

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* S/NL ✓ 10		NEA	
G/PM		OTHER AGENCIES	
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S/AL		Vice President	
S/P		Defense	
XXXXXXXXXX		CIA ✓ 18	
S/R ✓ 12		NSA	
FUNCTIONAL BUREAUS		Treasury	
E		State Rep	
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INR ✓ 13		AID	
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